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The American Historical Review

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Cover illustration. Pride as a falling rider. ca. 1225. Chartres Cathedral. Photograph: James Austin. (See fig. 1, p. 33.)

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The American Historical Review

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The American Historical Association in 1970

R. R. PALMER

We have come together this evening to hear the eighty-fifth presidential address of the American Historical Association. It has been customary in the past for my predecessors to speak on general problems of history, or to call for new directions in historical study, or to offer mature reflections on the subjects to which their professional lives have been devoted. Tonight I am going to speak about the American Historical Association itself. Much has been heard here on the nature of history in these eighty-five years, and I have said in other places, a bit repetitiously, what I think of the eighteenth century and the Age of the Democratic Revolution. It seems best to use the present occasion to survey the problems of our own Association in the year 1970. The date of these observations is early October, the copy deadline for the February 1971 number of the *American Historical Review*. I hope that the rush of events, in these strenuous times, will not make my remarks this evening seem already outmoded.

As historians we are forever talking about revolutions, crises, and turning points. Let us recognize one in our own midst. The Association is in a period of crisis; and what comes out of it probably will be, as with actual revolutions, not complete success for any one group, but a continuing interplay between people who have different opinions. In current language it may be called an identity crisis. We share it with the whole academic world. As historians we claim to be a profession, but we do not quite know what the profession is. Are we researchers, teachers, writers, or experts on various countries and centuries? Are we activists or academics? Is our Association a trade union or a learned society? While we uphold our own interests, how can we best serve the public interest as well? There are no easy answers to these questions. The Association must somehow face them all and have a place for all kinds of members.

The crisis, though long in developing, became apparent a year ago. We had in 1969, I suppose, the most turbulent business meeting in the whole history

This is an expanded version of a presidential address delivered by Mr. Palmer at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Boston, December 28, 1970.

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of the Association. It was attended by over two thousand persons, of whom over fourteen hundred were members, or were at least counted as voting. This was over ten times the attendance of preceding years; even in 1968, when controversial issues also arose, only 116 voting members were present. To be sure, the attendance last year was a small fraction of the membership as a whole. Yet to have so many come to a business meeting, and remain for several hours, is indeed a sign of something like a revolution, and probably also of counterrevolution, as anyone should know who has studied such phenomena in the past.

There were three issues that produced this unprecedented turnout. One was the Vietnam War, or rather the question of whether the Association, acting officially as such, should vote to condemn it. It was on this issue that the balloting was most evenly divided. The larger issue, of course, was whether a professional or learned society should ever take an official stand on any political question. Many of our members firmly oppose such declarations, and yet they would make an exception of such a rare and special case as the prolonged American military involvement in Southeast Asia; and I think that if the resolution had been presented in different language, with emphasis on the destructive effects of the war on college and university campuses, which are our immediate concern, a substantial majority might have been won for it.

The second issue was the election of the president of the Association. For the first time in its eighty-five-year history—perhaps not soon enough—the AHA had a contested election on the floor of its business meeting. It is true that in 1944 an opposition candidate for the presidency was in fact nominated; but the candidate refused to run, never appeared at the meeting, and sent a letter repudiating those who had nominated him. In 1969 the opposition candidate received almost thirty per cent of a very large vote.

The third issue was a set of amendments proposed by the Council to modify the constitution of the Association. These amendments were passed and are now in effect. It is possible that their import is not generally understood, since the pressures at the meeting a year ago greatly shortened the explanations the Council had intended to offer. I shall therefore offer a brief explanation now. The effect of the amendments was and is to limit the formerly sovereign powers of the business meeting. In the AHA, as in other learned societies that grew up at the close of the last century, each at first with only a few hundred members, it was long the practice to regard the "Business Meeting," as it was called, as the general assembly of the whole membership. As such, as in a small Rousseauist city-state, it had final authority in the election of officers and in its power to reverse or instruct the elected Council. Now that our Association numbers eighteen thousand, distributed over a country three thousand miles wide, it is difficult to maintain that the hundred or so members who normally appear at a business meeting, and constitute less than one per cent of the membership, really

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represent the membership or should exercise the powers of the membership as a whole. Who or how many come to a business meeting fluctuates from year to year and depends on prior knowledge of the issues at stake, the interest or activity of particular groups, and the part of the country in which the annual meeting is held. The former power of the business meeting was one of the most archaic parts of our constitution; there are others to which I shall refer later. At present, and in the future unless further constitutional change provides otherwise, there cannot be an election of officers on the floor of the business meeting, nor can that meeting, without more ado, simply overrule the Council or give it positive orders. It can vote to reverse an action of the Council; the Council may then accept the reversal or submit the issue to a mail ballot of the whole membership. The business meeting also has enacting powers, unless the Council declines to concur, in which case the issue is submitted to a mail ballot. The business meeting can question, criticize, urge, and recommend to the Council, it can pass resolutions, and it can propose constitutional amendments. It is to be expected that the Council will listen seriously to the business meeting. That depends on the future vitality of the business meeting itself. At present, however, where the business meeting and the Council formally disagree, the appeal is to the membership as a whole.

I know that there were some in 1969, and doubtless are some now, who think that in obtaining those amendments the Council was acting defensively, that it was afraid of a take-over by some small unspecified group, generally supposed to be far to the left, or that it was protecting its own oligarchic freedom of action by appeal to a large uninformed or apathetic electorate. There has been talk of an establisment entrenching itself behind the pretended democracy of a popular plebiscite. It has been said that those of our members who are sufficiently interested, informed, and active to attend a business meeting should have the powers that that meeting formerly enjoyed. I simply do not agree. Of course the Council was taking precautions against a "take-over," or whatever the seizure of power by a handful of members might be called. But there were also more immediate reasons for the amendments.

If an assembly of historians can bear with a little more of their own history, they may recall the business meeting of 1968. On that occasion it was a group that proved to be a minority at the business meeting that asked for the so-called plebiscitarian solution. Unable to get the business meeting to disapprove of holding the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Moscow in 1970, this group won a vote instructing the Council to submit the question to a mail ballot, which upheld the idea of the Moscow meeting by two to one. At the same time, in 1968, the business meeting reversed a decision of the Council, which had concluded after much deliberation that a list of approved Ph.D. programs should not be made public. Constitutionally, as was then its right, the business meeting ordered publication of this list.

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The Council—that is, the officers and elected members—violated the constitution in not carrying out this mandate. The Council did so not out of obstinate adherence to its previous judgment, but because of anguished outcries, accompanied by threats of legal action, on the part of institutions that thought that they would be injured if a list was published. There were indeed other important considerations. The matter was arranged by agreement. But the constitution was violated. It was to restore some orderly procedure to the affairs of the Association that the amendments were proposed and carried.

Of the amendments adopted last year it should finally be said that they contain some liberalizing features, not at all calculated to keep an in-group in office. Formerly ex-presidents remained as voting members of the Council for three years; now they do so for only one. Now for the first time the nominating committee is required to announce in advance, early in the year, the names of its nominees for president, vice-president, treasurer, and elected members of the Council. The purpose is to enable those who may be dissatisfied to know who the nominees are in time to prepare and publicize a list of alternative candidates if they wish. The names of the alternative candidates are then placed on the usual ballot that goes out in November. As few as a hundred members may thus by petition place a name on the ballot. For the first time, also, proposal of constitutional amendment is no longer confined to the Council or the business meeting. Not only these two, but any one hundred members may propose a constitutional amendment by petition. Such a proposal by petition, calling for restructuring and enlargement of the Council, will be considered by our business meeting tomorrow, along with an amendment proposed by the Council. The business meeting, however, does not act finally in such a matter, since any proposed amendment must now be accepted or rejected by mail ballot of the membership as a whole.

Such is our machinery at present. What are our problems? They fall into two general categories. One has to do with the representativeness of the management of the Association. The other embraces a wide variety of questions on what the Association ought to do, or what historians in general ought to be doing under present and future conditions. "Management" seems an unsuitable term in our circumstances; the first problem simply refers to the operating organs of the Association—the elected officers and Council, the executive secretary and his staff, the editor and editorial board of the *Review*, the nominating committee, the program committee, and all the other committees—and whether these operating organs represent or are responsive to the membership. The two sets of problems are connected. Presumably, if the operating organs were differently constituted or controlled, the activities of the Association and its priorities might be different.

I do not wish to minimize the problem of representativeness by saying that it is an old one. You can imagine my surprise, in the course of my

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recent somewhat hurried researches, to discover a pamphlet entitled "Why the American Historical Association Needs Thorough Reorganization." It was privately printed in Washington in 1915. Its main author was Frederic Bancroft, who is remembered for the Bancroft Prizes in American History. He led a movement against what he called a "ring." He quotes phrases that he says were not new even in 1915: "The oligarchy does as it pleases." "We are run by a big-university trust." You have to "have the favor of the old guard." This old guard, he said, was composed of John Franklin Jameson, Frederick Jackson Turner, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George Lincoln Burr, Charles Homer Haskins, and a few other notables of the profession. It was charged that the men in this ring, really bossed by Jameson, jocosely referred to as the "dean," were entrenched in the editorial board of the *Review,* and chose themselves or their favorites in turn to be president.

These accusations were taken up by a special Committee of Nine, whose report was dismissed as a whitewash, but which produced a new constitution adopted in 1916. This is the constitution under which, with amendments, we still live. It was at this time that ex-presidents, instead of remaining as voting members of the Council for life, were limited to three years. This remained the rule until a year ago. Elected members of the Council, as distinct from officers and past presidents, were raised in number from six to eight. We still have this council of eight elected members that issued from this mild revolution of fifty-four years ago. It was also in 1916 that a nominating committee was first provided for, to be elected by and report to the members of the Association, and so to be completely independent from the officers and the Council. In the 1930s, by further changes, the eight elected Council members and the members of the nominating committee, instead of being elected at the business meeting, were elected by a mail ballot that preceded it. In 1969 this same principle was finally applied to the president, vice-president, and treasurer also.

It is a delicate question whether we have a ring or an establishment today. If we do, it is certainly no such tight little group as John Franklin Jameson seems actually to have once been able to lead. Our committees are not dominated by the Council, and their members come from many places and parts of the country, especially since the mid-fifties, when the Association for the first time had enough funds to pay travel expenses for its committees. A real effort is made to get a wide distribution of persons who serve the Association in various capacities. Yet among the officers, the Council, and the editorial board of the *Review* the predominance of persons from certain eminent universities can hardly escape notice. The trend is even increasing. Of presidents of the Association in the twenty-five years since 1946, fifteen have been from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or Columbia. For the twenty-five years from 1921 to 1945 the corresponding figure was only ten. At present no member of our Council teaches at a college that does not have a graduate school. There were two such on the Council in 1940. Geographical distribu-

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tion of elected Council members is at present good in that it corresponds fairly well to distribution of the membership at large. But half these eight councilors received their Ph.D.'s from Harvard, and none from any point west of Chapel Hill. In any case, it is surprising to discover that of the eight Council members elected in 1916, after the upheaval provoked by Frederic Bancroft, only one was at an institution east of the Alleghenies, and she was a woman, Lucy Salmon of Vassar. Only one had a Harvard Ph.D., and he taught at Indiana. In 1915 Chicago and Cornell were among the six universities that were said to dominate the profession of history. What has happened since then is a bit like the long-term drift of the Rhodes Scholarships. When these scholarships were first introduced, in the years following 1904, less than ten per cent of the awards went to students at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton; in the 1960s the proportion was one-third. One would have to be a very confirmed Ivy Leaguer to raise no eyebrows at such a development.

Many of our members today, and some who are not members but might be, feel that the Association does not represent them; they have little interest in it and think it has little interest in them. In one way the situation is as in Bancroft's time. In 1915 the Association had passed through a period of rapid growth, reaching a membership of almost 3,000, at which it leveled off for a period of thirty years. We have just passed through another such period of even greater expansion, reaching a membership of 18,000, four times as large as twenty years ago. But the problem now is more serious than it was in 1915. The rebellion of that time was apparently without ideological or educational significance. It was directed purely against oligarchy as such; between the rebels and the "ring" there was no difference on what the Association should be or do. Today the problem of representativeness is more closely related to the problem of what functions the Association should perform.

There are various reasons why people whose work is in history may lack interest in the American Historical Association. I have already touched on the geographical problem. Regional distribution of our membership has changed surprisingly little in fifty years. While there has obviously been a great growth on the West Coast, the only region to show a proportionate decline is New England, whose share in the membership, since 1920, has dropped from seventeen to eleven per cent. Even so, exactly half our members, not counting foreign and Canadian, still live in the Atlantic coastal states from Maine to Florida. While this fact explains the frequency of Eastern names in the affairs of the Association, it also suggests, since distribution of total population is different, that college teachers of history west of the Alleghenies may feel less inclination to join. The idea of an Eastern establishment is thus reinforced. There may be dissatisfaction also, East or West, among members and nonmembers who teach in small colleges, in junior colleges, and in large developing universities away from the older

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and better-known institutions. Many of these persons in fact take part in the program of our annual meetings or other activities. There is another group who feel that the Association should not be merely a society of professors, but somehow bring history into the mainstream of public affairs. This group has always been present, though in the early days its inclination was to deal with prominent public men. Ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes was one of the forty-one persons who founded the Association at Saratoga in 1884; Theodore Roosevelt was elected president of the Association in 1912, though he laughed at it as a little circle of pedants; and Woodrow Wilson was chosen in the last year of his life. The demand for more contact with the public was heard again in the 1930s, when Conyers Read wished to use the radio to bring history to a wider audience, and Allan Nevins urged the Association to sponsor a popular historical magazine. In each case the more purely professional or professorial party prevailed, and the magazine *American Heritage* now flourishes without connection with the American Historical Association.

Today the demand for public involvement takes a different form, with political activists who think the Association too exclusively academic and certain members of the New Left for whom it is too conservative. The Vietnam War has kept the issue alive; black studies and urban studies will do the same. My own belief is that historians, as individuals, should deal with the most inflammatory issues if they wish to; but that the Association, as an organization representing all forms of history, should remain more neutral and indeed academic. Let me remark that W. E. B. Du Bois, Herbert Aptheker, and Howard Fast have all belonged to our Association; and I hope that activists who can produce such history as they did will always be among us. The presence of these three and others on our membership list, in the days of Senator Joseph McCarthy, caused trouble for the Association, which in 1953 was denounced as the "second most subversive" scholarly group in the country. The Association and its members were successfully defended against congressional investigation by our then executive secretary, Boyd Shafer, at considerable and then unknown tribulation to himself.

Two other kinds of persons may be alienated from the Association as it now exists. There are those who are interested primarily in the teaching of history and for whom the AHA is too much oriented to research, publication, or professional specialization. Second, there is the large category of the young. Though we lack vital statistics it seems likely that since well over ten thousand persons have joined the Association in little more than a decade, we must have a higher proportion of relatively younger persons among our members than we used to. In this as in other respects, the problems of the Association reflect the changes in the academic world and the surrounding society.

"Young" is a relative expression, but with apologies to both the young and the middle-aged, it may sometimes mean to be under forty. In its early

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days our profession had more of a place for youth than it apparently has today. Frederick Jackson Turner was only thirty-two when he delivered his memorable paper on the frontier in 1893. Charles Beard was thirty-nine when he published his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. The main founder of the American Historical Association, Herbert Baxter Adams, was thirty-four at the time of the founding. The forty-one persons who organized the Association in 1884 have already been mentioned. Not all their ages can now be ascertained. But at least twelve were under forty. Four were under thirty. The youngest of all was John Franklin Jameson, then twenty-five, who had just acquired that new and exciting title, the Ph.D., and was an assistant in history at Johns Hopkins. That Jameson was attacked as the ringleader of the old guard thirty years later may incline the youth to feel some charity toward their elders. And note that Frederic Bancroft was fifty-five at the time of the 1915 explosion. Not everyone over forty is unduly conservative.

So much having been said, I think that the Council of the Association should be enlarged. It should be made more representative of the views and interests that exist in the actual membership. Something will be lost in convenience of doing business, and new difficulties can be expected. It is not easy to say what representation really is, or to get representatives that their own constituents will accept as such. There will be ticklish questions if we try to establish categories or draw boundaries between age groups, or between regional districts, or between kinds of institutions, such as small colleges and great universities. If the Council is to be larger and less homogeneous the work of the nominating committee will become far more complex. If our operating organs become larger and more complex, the cost to the Association will increase, and the dues may have to be raised. Nevertheless, I still favor some measures to enlarge the Council.

There remains the second general category of problems before the Association in 1970, the question of what functions it ought to perform. These functions, let it be said now only in passing, are subject to two serious limits, money and people. The need for money is obvious. As for people, we neither can nor wish to turn everything over to our central office, and there are limits beyond which we cannot expect our members to devote their time and energy voluntarily to the affairs of the AHA.

Some members have told me that there are only two basic activities of the Association in which they are interested, the publication of the *American Historical Review*, and the holding of an annual meeting. These are indeed basic, but I shall dispose of them briefly. Our *Review* is one of the great historical periodicals of the world, perhaps the most catholic and comprehensive. If much of it seems dry and very specialized, one can only reply that no one is expected to read all of it, that the editor is well aware of the problems, that it is by definition a learned journal, and that in any case it cannot rise above its source, which is, in general, what members of our Association

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will write. The annual meeting, or convention, is the subject of a good deal of dissatisfaction. Of its unpleasant adjunct, the "slave market," I shall speak later. Of its business meeting I have spoken already.

As to its substantive content, the eighty-odd sessions that we hold each year, the program committee is experimenting with ways for loosening up the traditional forms of presentation. Some people feel that it is out of date for us to have subject matter sessions at all; that these are best handled in smaller organizations, such as the Conference on British Studies; and that at the annual meeting we should have only a few sessions on matters of broad professional interest. I would not go so far, but we might well move in this direction, as the American Political Science Association has done, with room made on its program for reports of the committee on the status of women, the committee on the status of blacks, for discussion of graduate education, or the role of the department chairman. Personally, I wish also that, in an age subject to the uncertainties of air travel, we could meet at some other time than midwinter, cramped between Christmas and New Year's. If we did, we might also extend the meeting beyond the traditional three days. In a recent referendum, however, the membership voted in favor of the traditional time of year, with those who had most recently joined the Association, that is, presumably the youngest, being most heavily in favor of the Christmas season. It is said also that our convention has become too large. That pillar of the establishment, John Franklin Jameson, rejected the same criticism long ago. "It would be hard," he said in 1909, "to persuade anyone who has attended a meeting of the American Historical Association and carefully watched what goes on, in and out of the formal sessions, that a gathering from which nine-tenths of the present attendants were absent would do as much good for the common cause." In 1970, as in 1909, the value of the annual meeting lies in bringing together people of different ages, interest, academic position, and geographical regions. It is a professionally enlightening experience, and they do not have to approve of everything that they see.

It is an old function of the Association to represent history in dealing with government agencies, foundations, and learned bodies, such as the American Council of Learned Societies or the International Committee on the Historical Sciences, which is now beginning to plan for the international congress to be held in the United States in 1975. Another ancient function is the award of prizes, a commendable if not central activity, very time-consuming for those who serve in this capacity. We have six prize committees at present. One such committee, for an award of $300 established sixty-six years ago, is expected this year to examine no less than seventy printed books that are cheerfully submitted by their publishers. This is more than we should ask of our members; the whole problem of prizes should be reviewed. We have twenty other standing committees, whose names can be found in the *Newsletter* of last February, and which suggest the present range of operations of the Association. We are at present being asked to do

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something for oral history, and to take steps to preserve, assemble, and systematize the mass of television, film, and other documentary material beyond the written word. This would follow normally from the old function of the Association, incorporated in its charter long before the establishment of the National Archives, for the preservation of manuscript sources. As archival work has become more professionalized, the role of our Association has become more marginal. It may be that we should assist in the gestation of a similar profession for the custody of nonwritten sources. As for existing archives, we remain profoundly concerned with their availability to all qualified historians on a fair basis. For the past two years the Association has been involved in a particularly complicated case of alleged malpractice in this connection.

There are two broad areas to which, as I see it, the Association should address itself in the future. One has to do with conditions of employment, the other with everything suggested by the word "teaching." I assume that the Association will continue in its older activities, that it will remain an association of scholars, try to maintain quality in historical work, uphold professional standards, and favor research and publication. As usual in the academic world, we add without taking away. It is the new problems that require most attention. They are the ones that reflect the changes in the Association to which we must adjust. These in turn reflect the changes, and indeed the crisis, in higher education as a whole and in the society in which the American Historical Association is inevitably impacted.

It is partly a question of numbers. The present is a time, if not of mass higher education, at least of an expansion of schooling after the high-school age corresponding to the rise of the public high school itself in the early years of the Association. College enrollments, including junior colleges, have tripled in two decades. Enrollment in history courses, though recently declining, as noted by C. Vann Woodward on this occasion a year ago, has nevertheless greatly increased over the long run. Production of new Ph.D.'s in history, which rose for over a decade at about the same rate as the enrollment in the undergraduate courses that they were to teach, has in the last few years risen far more rapidly. The result is a crisis in the employment of new teachers of history. This problem of numbers of teachers merges into the problem of teaching itself, since undergraduate enrollments might be enlarged if teaching could be improved, or if the content of the history curriculum could be made more interesting to a larger number of students. Our trade-union interests here touch upon more philosophical problems of the value and nature of history itself.

The question is what the Association can or should do. The power in employment and in curriculum lies with individual departments in over two thousand colleges and universities. The Association can recommend and advise, it can gather and publicize statistics and make projections of future needs, it can survey the present state of affairs, and it can provide the means

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of intercommunication for historians in the two thousand different institutions.

As for conditions of employment, one thinks first of all of the famous "slave market." This refers primarily to the job-seeking and interviewing that go on at the annual meeting and more generally to the catch-as-catch-can methods by which persons completing their Ph.D.'s receive their first positions. In the hope of organizing this chaos the Job Register, now called the Professional Register, was introduced about fifteen years ago. The idea was to set up a clearinghouse that both candidates and employing institutions could use. It was to get away from the private, friendly, and even mysterious arrangements by which new Ph.D.'s were placed, to create more equality of opportunity so that people would obtain jobs according to their actual abilities, and not because they did their graduate work at a big or eminent university or had studied with some particular professor. The Professional Register has only partly fulfilled these aims, and indeed has become tainted with the old atmosphere of the slave market itself, an atmosphere of confusion, anxiety, rivalry, humiliation, disappointment, and contempt for the system that is the most unfavorable possible introduction for a young person to his chosen profession. Various alternatives have been suggested, but none that I think would work. The Professional Register, or something like it, is the price we pay for the great size of the country, the huge numbers of candidates and of employing institutions, and the geographical and social mobility that we all prize. Probably it produces results more acceptable to Americans than any system now practiced in Europe. It is one of the problems that we must continue to work on.

The difficulty is not only in the mechanism but in the conditions of demand and supply. The Association should compile regular, annual, up-to-date, and comprehensive statistics on trends in college course enrollments, on admissions to the graduate schools, and on output of Ph.D.'s, broken down by fields—American, European, African, Latin American, and so on. If effective, this operation will mean more work for departmental chairmen in filling out annual questionnaires. Its real usefulness may be debatable. Eight years ago Dexter Perkins and John Snell, working with a committee of the American Historical Association, issued a report on graduate programs in which they made projections for the future. For 1969 they estimated that about 500 new Ph.D.'s would be needed. Actual production for 1969 was almost twice as many; it was about 880. If graduate schools had conformed to the Snell-Perkins projections we would have no problem of overproduction today. But it is hard, merely with a table of statistics, to discourage real people who want to do advanced work in history. It has been especially hard under conditions of the draft for a war whose necessity many of us have refused to accept. It is hard to persuade particular departments to limit their ambitions. If graduate schools are cutting back on admissions today, it is not only because of planning, but because federal money is less abundant.

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There are other conditions that affect an individual for many years, and not merely in the finding of a first job. The Association could, for example, publish guidelines for salaries and for hours of classroom teaching, though with our multiplicity and independence of institutions I doubt if they would have any effect. We have begun to do something to improve the status of women in the profession, and could do the same for blacks or any others who have a special problem. Here again it is individual departments, their chairmen, and members who have the power to act; the Association can only assemble facts and recognize or dramatize the inequities that may exist. We have been asked to look into cases where the academic freedom of historians may have been violated, or where departments of history have been prevented from making appointments by the action of administrative officers or trustees. My impression is that fewer people are acutely concerned with this question, as an item of AHA business, than with most of the others that I am reviewing. I would think that, if we were to go into such matters, we would run into duplication or conflict with the AAUP, would have difficulty in setting up committees for fact-finding and visitation, or in gaining access to college officials; and that, in the present state of the world, we would have to redefine the kinds of academic freedom that the Association would be prepared to defend, on the spectrum from pure expression of opinion to violent and disruptive militancy on or off the campus. On these matters I doubt if our membership could be brought to agree.

Finally, under conditions of employment, there is the problem of finding the second or later job, and the whole system of qualifications for reappointment, promotion, and achievement of tenure. On the whole, I think that too much is made of research and publication for these purposes and that those are right who say that more attention should be paid to teaching in matters of appointment and promotion. But generalization is to be avoided; in the diversity of the American system there should be some universities and colleges in which serious publication is expected of their faculties and others in which classroom performance, or relations with students, are more highly regarded. The difficulty lies in the self-definition of the individual institution, which in turn goes back to a less admirable feature of the American system, that is, the race for status or prestige, by which an institution cannot be comfortable in doing what it can best do, or ought to do, but must try to work itself up to a presumably more eminent place on the academic ladder. But what I am really touching on is the problem of teaching.

Too little time remains to deal properly with this subject. I am convinced that it lies at the heart of our difficulties, although in my own case it was not the desire to teach, but a desire to engage in research and writing, that attracted me to the academic profession. The fact is that many join our ranks because they want to teach history. Probably this has always been so; the new thing is that more people are announcing it openly. There are not two mutually exclusive groups; the distinction, if any, is between those who

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accept teaching, and may even excel at it, as a means of supporting a life of research and writing, and those who accept the need for research or writing, and may be good at it, yet are mainly devoted to their own students and to education.

There is supposed to be no contradiction. We have all heard, and in part believe, that teaching and research mutually strengthen each other. Yet there are undeniable tensions. One is in our Ph.D. programs, where young people who want to be teachers must go through a protracted training in research. Like others, I think that the program is too long: dissertations are now three times longer, and more complex, than when the American Ph.D. was invented. After the Ph.D. and the job are acquired there is tension in the allocation of one's time, whether it be the interruption of an afternoon at the desk or the taking of a year's leave of absence for further research, which can be very inconvenient for one's students. There is tension in the fact that the historian wants to teach his own specialty, whether or not it is useful for the student's education. And there is tension in the reward system, already mentioned, so far as appointment and promotion depend not on teaching effectiveness, which is hard to measure, but on publication, which can at least be seen.

What can or should the Association do? It can begin by remembering its own history. The Association originated in that great wave of the closing years of the last century in which the whole modern university as we have known it took form. There was a great to-do about science, method, professional rigor, contributions to knowledge, and all that came to be known as research. Yet from the beginning the Association was also concerned with teaching. Among its forty-one founders were two United States commissioners of education and the principal of the Hyde Park High School in Chicago. In 1896 it appointed a Committee of Seven, which did a great deal to codify the teaching of history in the high schools. These seven, who in 1896 were a youthful group from twenty-six to forty-six in age, included, in addition to the headmaster of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, five men and one woman who all became luminaries of our profession. In 1897 a whole day in the three-day annual meeting was set aside for the subject. In 1898, according to the record, there was no topic "regarded with so general interest as that of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in secondary schools." In 1907 the subject was reviewed by a Committee of Five, and there were various other inquiries and planning groups in the following decades.

The Association has always had a committee on teaching, and at present has three, one on Ph.D. programs, one on undergraduate teaching, and one on the teaching of history in the schools. In addition, for two years we have been heavily involved in the History Education Project, financed by the United States Office of Education and sponsored by the American Historical Association. In this enterprise, in a dozen places throughout the country,

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there are groups at work that are composed of historians from the local college or university, persons from its school of education, and teachers and supervisors in the neighboring public schools. They are now mainly engaged in the rejuvenation of history in the high schools, but it is well understood that problems of teaching interpenetrate at all levels.

In recent years the Association has lagged behind the efforts of its actual and potential members. There are a great many historians in colleges and universities, in many parts of the country, who on their own initiative, or in unrelated group operations, have long been concerned with problems of instruction, experimental courses, new approaches, new devices, new relationships between teachers and students. Not everyone need have such interests, but those who have should be encouraged. The Association can at least give them recognition, a sense of the legitimacy and importance of what they are doing; and it can provide them with means of communication, so that people with new ideas in history education may feel less isolated from one another, or from the profession as a whole.

One useful step would be to found a new journal devoted to the teaching of history, addressed to college teachers as well as to those in the schools. The *American Historical Review* is overloaded, and in any case has other aims. In England, France, and Germany there are serious journals on the teaching of history, apart from the purely learned journals of those countries. In this country the economists have recently launched a new *Journal of Economic Education*. Here again our Association has not recently been a pioneer. Textbooks are not reviewed in the *American Historical Review,* and I have agreed with that policy. But we need a place where textbooks can be described and assessed, where the flood of reading matter that publishers produce for the classroom can be evaluated, where books of the ordinary kind, monographs, special studies, or popular works, can be reviewed and criticized not for their contributions to knowledge, or their place in the general polemics of the subject, but for their real value, readability, or interest to the student and hence to the teacher, whether in college or in the schools. We need a journal that provides information and considered judgment on the use of films, documentaries, visual aids, and all the devices for projection and reproduction that are becoming available—if only as a protection against the claims of their sponsors. We need a clearinghouse for reports on new experiments with the curriculum. We need a forum in which larger questions of history, its place in education, its humane values, and its social utility can be explored. And such a journal should be published by the American Historical Association, as a sign of its commitment in these fields.

To conclude, I have tried in these remarks to avoid encroaching unduly on the agenda for the business meeting tomorrow, at which members of the Association will be able to express their own ideas on the topics that I have raised. Not wishing to turn the presidential address into a political speech,

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I have not claimed to speak for the Council, and I have no wish to cause embarrassment for my successors. I have no reason to suppose, however, that there is any great difference of opinion. The Council has often discussed most of the problems that I have mentioned. Steps have already been taken toward the establishment of a new journal on the teaching of history. The Council will propose, for discussion tomorrow, a constitutional amendment for its own enlargement by the addition of four more elected members. I hope that this amendment will be adopted in the mail ballot to follow; if so, it will go immediately into effect. For the longer run, the Council will also announce a plan for a broad, fundamental, and independent review of the organization and activities of the Association. This, too, should be seriously considered tomorrow night. In a really thorough review every detail of our present arrangements should be carefully scrutinized. We must decide whether we want a wholly new constitution or to amend what we have from year to year. There is a value both in tradition and in innovation. But, while hesitating to deprive others of the pleasures of office, I would suggest that the presidency itself be re-examined, including the grounds and supposed qualifications upon which a president, if any, is to be chosen. And I would wonder, to tell the truth, whether the annual ceremony of a presidential address is anything that the Association really desires to perpetuate.

Finally, if, as I have said, we are in a state of crisis let us resolve it constructively. If there is to be a revolution let it be one of those metaphorical revolutions, a nonrevolution carried out by persuasion and understanding. The issues we face are of a kind that arise only once in a generation, or in a half-century, and I hope that we can deliberate upon them tomorrow in a farsighted spirit, keeping in mind not only the future of our Association, but the future of history itself.

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Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom

LESTER K. LITTLE

In the age of the Commercial Revolution some European thinkers ceased to regard pride as the worst of all vices and bestowed this signal dishonor instead upon avarice. Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, in other words, when European society experienced a profound structural transformation that brought a commercial economy, an urban culture, and a widespread use of money, European thought registered a corresponding shift in values within the traditional scheme of the cardinal vices. This shift has been previously noted but it has not been either adequately documented or adequately explained.

Huizinga observed "a furious chorus of invectives against cupidity and avarice" in the literature of the expiring Middle Ages. He traced this indignant attitude back to the twelfth century, when people began to find the principle of evil in cupidity rather than in pride. The latter had been the characteristic sin of the feudal and hierarchic age, when property was for the most part not liquid and power was not yet predominantly associated with money. Starting in the twelfth century some fortunes were rooted in money, and these were not so firmly planted as those in soil. As the process of capital investment had not yet developed sufficiently to engage liquid wealth fully, the newly rich indulged in money directly, openly, and—still in Huizinga's judgment—primitively.[1]

But the vices were incidental to Huizinga's interests. The person who has worked most directly and fully with the subject is Morton W. Bloomfield, and anyone now wishing to explore the subject should take as his guide Bloomfield's masterful study, *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Bloomfield presented both an overall survey of the vices in Christian thought and a detailed analysis of particular points bearing directly on the development of medieval English literature. He included an examination of the origins of the list of vices, arguing that the list represented the remnant of an otherworld

[1] Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, tr. F. Hopman (Garden City, 1954), 27–28.

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journey, perhaps a Gnostic soul journey, in which a soul encountered seven evil spirits sequentially.[2]

Bloomfield's book has drawn considerable attention and has generated further investigations since its publication in 1952, but many problems, some of them brought into view by that very book, still demand serious study. These include the scholastic analysis of the vices, the iconography of the vices, the relationship between thought concerning the vices and the actual administration of penance, the attitudes expressed in sermons and in catechetical works, and the histories of the individual vices.[3]

An alternate categorization of vice, quite different from the Seven Deadly Sins, is that of the Three Temptations, based on 1 John 2:15–16. This theme is less well known than that of the Seven Deadly Sins, but a study of the ways it identifies and relates vices and virtues corroborates what we learn from the more familiar theme. The Three Temptations—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life—correspond to the three temptations of Adam in the Garden and of Christ in the Wilderness. In the course of medieval literature, they were made to correspond to various combinations of the vices.[4]

The counterpart to Bloomfield's book in the field of art history is Adolf Katzenellenbogen's *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art.* Katzenellenbogen divided his subject into categories of dynamic and static representations, the former consisting mainly of illustrations of Prudentius' *Psychomachia,* a fifth-century poem in which individually paired-off virtues and vices engage in fierce battles for the souls of men. Several recent studies, dealing usually with particular manuscripts or sculptural ensembles, have drawn heavily on Katzenellenbogen.[5] In this field as well as in literature scholars have brought into view a whole range of new problems. These literary analysts and art historians have opened a way to the general historian for exploring and gaining insight from the higher reaches of medieval culture. They have offered enough evidence of change to suggest methods of studying not only new ways of thought, but also new forms of behavior and new social and institutional developments. We shall therefore successively examine literary and pictorial evidence, economic and social contexts, and changing forms of religious expression.

[2] Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, 1952), 12.

[3] Siegfried Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum,* 43 (1968): 1–22. Wenzel himself has written a detailed study of sloth, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1967).

[4] Donald R. Howard, *The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World* (Princeton, 1966).

[5] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939). For more recent studies, see, for example, Rosalie B. Green, "Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 31 (1968): 148–58; Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," *ibid.,* 26 (1963): 264–303, and 27 (1964): 42–72; Folke Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the 14th Century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral* (Stockholm, 1956); and references cited by Wenzel, in "Seven Deadly Sins," 14 n.59.

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The most sensitive indicator of change in the traditional theme of virtues and vices is the notion of the chief vice. The various schemes for listing vices almost always single out the most important vice, either at the head of the list, at the end of the list, or apart from the list. A second critical indicator is the relationship among the vices, especially of the most important vice to the others. One cannot simply assume that the main vice is the root cause of all the others. John Cassian, for example, warned monks that for them the most dangerous vice was pride. But only after a monk had conquered all of the lesser vices would he become seriously susceptible to pride, and then it would be the most difficult of all for him to overcome.[6] In the scheme of the Three Temptations, order and relationship are similarly revealing; the arrangement usually implies an ascending psychological progression from suggestion to delectation to consent. This progression goes from a relatively innocent and gratuitous encounter with evil, passes via a fascination and delight with evil, and leads finally to an active and conscious embracing of evil.[7]

The practice of listing and assessing the relative qualities of the vices can be traced with certainty as far back as Evagrius of Pontus.[8] This fourth-century hermit placed pride at the end of a list of eight cardinal vices. His disciple Cassian explicated at length the eight vices listed by Evagrius, including a full rationale for making pride the most important. So great is the evil of pride, wrote Cassian, that unlike the other vices it does not have as its opponent an angel or a virtue, but, rather, its adversary is God Himself.[9] Cassian also introduced into the discussion an image that was to recur throughout the subsequent literature on the vices: the image of a tree and roots.[10] Moreover, he carried these Eastern traditions to the Latin West. St. Benedict perpetuated Cassian's influence by recommending in the final chapter of the Holy Rule that the monks take Cassian as one of their guides.[11]

Patristic theologians did not have complete freedom in designating the most important vice. These theologians were all to some extent biblical commentators, and the Bible had something to say on the subject. Ecclesiasticus 10:13 taught that "Pride is the beginning of all sin." Better known is what St. Paul taught in 1 Tim. 6:10: "Cupidity is the root of all evil things."[12] The Bible listed and castigated numerous other vices, but only

[6] *Conlationes* 5. 10 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* [Vienna, 1866–] [hereafter *CSEL*], 13: 129).

[7] Howard, *Three Temptations*, 43.

[8] Discussed by Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 57–60.

[9] *De institutis coenobiorum* 12 (*CSEL*, 17: 204–31), especially 12. 7 (*ibid.*, 210).

[10] *Conlationes* 5. 10 (*CSEL*, 13: 129).

[11] *Regula monachorum* 73 (*CSEL*, 75: 164).

[12] The Greek term *philargyria* (love of money) was rendered by Jerome as *cupiditas*. Throughout this essay, "cupidity" and "avarice" are used to translate *cupiditas* and *avaritia* respectively, as they appear in texts. When free to employ either term, I have used "avarice." Where medieval writers were sensitive to a distinction between the two terms (as in a few cases mentioned later in this essay), they, like modern commentators, would seem to have preferred *avaritia* as the translation of St. Paul's expression.

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pride and cupidity were so conspicuously singled out, and nowhere more forcefully than in these particular passages. There was never really any serious doubt, therefore, that either pride or cupidity had to be the chief vice.

Most of the early medieval writers chose pride. Cassian's choice and his influence on Benedictine monasticism have already been noted. Probably the most influential of the patristic moralists was Gregory the Great. In the *Moralia in Job* Gregory asserted firmly that pride is the chief vice. Rather than being merely one of the eight cardinal vices, pride is a uniquely important entity, standing apart from and above seven cardinal vices. "For when pride, the queen of vices," wrote Gregory,

> has completely taken over a conquered heart, she gives it over right away to the seven principal vices, as if to some of her generals, because, doubtless, there spring up from them burdensome hosts of vices. . . . The root of all evil is pride, of which it is said, as Scripture bears witness, "Pride is the beginning of all sin." But seven principal vices, as its first progeny, spring from this poisonous root, namely, vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, and lust.[13]

This order for listing the seven vices, with avarice in the fifth place, became generally accepted.

The *Moralia* itself was often copied and also often abridged, so Gregory's ideas on the primacy of pride persisted. His influence is evident in the works of Tayo of Saragossa, Defensor of Ligugé, Smaragdus of Saint-Michael, Ambrose Autpert, Alcuin, Jonas of Orleans, Rhabanus Maurus, Halitgar of Cambrai, and Hincmar of Reims.[14] The tradition remained unbroken in the monastic revival of the tenth century, when St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, wrote a shortened version of the *Moralia*. Odo cut away a large proportion of Gregory's wordy text, but pride survived the process as queen and ruler over the seven cardinal vices.[15]

Avarice, meanwhile, and particularly St. Paul's observation concerning it, did not go unnoticed in the early medieval period. Isidore of Seville, in striving for completeness more than consistency, repeated the standard assertions about both pride and avarice without attempting to reconcile them.[16] Hincmar also acknowledged St. Paul's remark, and he gave a unique listing of the vices, with avarice first, besides accepting Gregory the Great's interpretation of pride.[17] Siadhal the Scot, giving strong emphasis to a suggestion by St. Paul, regarded avarice and cupidity as indications of idolatry;[18] and John the Scot, while calling cupidity perverse and illicit, explained it

[13] *Moralia in Job* 31. 45 (Jacques Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* [Paris, 1844–55] [hereafter *PL*], 76: 620–21).

[14] René Wasselynck, "Les compilations des *Moralia in Job* du VII^e^ au XII^e^ siècle," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* 29 (1962): 5–32; *idem,* "Les 'Moralia in Job' dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen âge latin," in *ibid.,* 31 (1964): 5–31.

[15] *Epitome Moralium sancti Gregorii in Job* 31 (*PL,* 133: 475).

[16] *Sententiae* 2. 38. 2, and 2. 41. 4 (*ibid.,* 83: 639, 646).

[17] *Opusculum LV capitulorum adversus Hincmarum Laudunensem* 51 (*ibid.,* 126: 489); *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* 2 (*ibid.,* 125: 868–82).

[18] *In epistolam ad Ephesios* 5 (*ibid.,* 103: 206).

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as an irrational motion of the free will.[19] St. Augustine had chosen to confront the apparent biblical contradiction directly. He juxtaposed the two texts and urged the reader to adopt a broad understanding of avarice, that is, as an inordinate desire for anything and not simply for money. Paul had intended the term "avarice" to express the general notion of wanting too much, Augustine explained. The devil had been made to fall by avarice, and everyone knows that this avarice consisted not in a love of money but in a love of power.[20] Gregory the Great also, the text previously cited notwithstanding, subjected avarice to pride.

> Avarice has to do not only with money but high position; it is rightly called avarice when prestige is sought beyond measure. If grasping for honor does not pertain to avarice, then did Paul say in vain concerning the only begotten Son, "He thought it not robbery to be equal with God" [Phil. 2:6]. Thus did the devil lure our parent into pride, exciting him to avarice of high position.[21]

This primacy of pride, whether by default or by the explicit subordination of avarice, was what Huizinga observed and ascribed to feudal and hierarchic thought. Bloomfield pursued a similar though not identical line, arguing that pride "is the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism. In a disciplined and corporate society, which the Middle Ages held as an ideal, exaggerated individualism, rebellion against the will of God, was considered particularly heinous." Thus, Bloomfield concluded, "to medieval order and discipline, pride appeared as the worst of all the sins and the root of all evil."[22] The facts concerning the early medieval primacy of pride appear indisputable, but the explanations, even if plausible, demand further reflection.

The shift of emphasis to avarice that began in the eleventh century also commands attention. One can see it already, for example, in Peter Damian, that harbinger of so many of the sensibilities and movements of generations to come. Peter quoted St. Paul and accepted his point of view without any attempt to explain away avarice as a subcategory of pride.[23] Lanfranc glossed the same familiar passage of 1 Timothy in a similar way.[24] Thomas the Cistercian specifically dealt with avarice as a material vice that contributes to the wretchedness of the poor.[25] John of Salisbury considered avarice the worst of vices, particularly among those charged with public office. "Although prodigality is clearly wrong, I think that there should be no place at all for avarice. No vice is worse and none more execrable, especially in

[19] *De divisione naturae* 5. 36 (*ibid.*, 122: 975).
[20] *De genesi ad litteram* 11: 15 (*CSEL*, 28: 347–48).
[21] *XL Homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* 1. 16 (*PL*, 76: 1136), cited by Howard, *Three Temptations*, 45.
[22] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 74–75.
[23] *Epistolae* 1. 15 (*PL*, 144: 234).
[24] *Epistola Pauli ad Timotheum cum Lanfranci glossulis* (*ibid.*, 150: 359).
[25] *Commentarii in Cantica canticorum* 2 (*ibid.*, 206: 116).

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those who are at the head of states or who hold any public office. Not only avarice itself but the very suggestion of it should be avoided." John had observed the high and mighty at close range, and so his warnings, even with allowances for rhetorical exaggeration, carried special force: "A person who deservedly incurs the suspicion of avarice in the minds of grave and circumspect men cannot be regarded as loyal to anyone or worthy of affection."[26] The identification and order of the Three Temptations also reveal something of this shift from pride to avarice. The basic triad, in ascending order of importance, had been gluttony, avarice, and vainglory—indulgence in the desires of the flesh, curiosity and seeking after things external to one's self, and the rational and arrogant assertion of one's self against all others. The triad of monastic virtue—chastity, poverty, and obedience—had been specifically and respectively set up to counter these three temptations. Over several generations, identification, definition, and order underwent many alterations, especially on the point of how to categorize honors and riches. In the mature reflections of the poet of *Piers Plowman,* the old triad reappeared as gluttony, pride, and avarice.[27]

Many of the sharpest denunciations of avarice occurred in attacks on simony, although simony did not necessarily involve money. The canonical definition of simony was rendered by Gregory I and it remained valid for several centuries.[28] Simony was an improper attainment of ecclesiastical office, wrote Gregory, whether it was secured by rendering undue services, by giving praise, by promising favors, or by making a monetary gift. This last alternative carried the further specification that the gift could either be one of actual cash or one simply calculable in monetary terms. The point is significant because in the precommercial era values were often expressed in monetary terms even though the money in question was usually money of account. The earliest attacks on simony, therefore, had no necessary connection with the problems of cash transactions or of avarice.

At the Lateran Synod of 1059 a provision was passed forbidding anyone "to receive a church from the hands of a layman, either gratis or for money."[29] By the later eleventh century attacks on simony came to include—and eventually to concentrate upon—attacks against money and avarice.[30] Bonizo of Sutri denounced the sellers of churches (*venditores ecclesiarum*) in the 1080s.[31] In 1139 the First Lateran Council condemned clerics who accept money for administering sacraments.[32] At Liège in the thirteenth century a

[26] *Polycraticus* 8. 4 (ed. C. C. J. Webb [Oxford, 1909], 2: 241).

[27] Howard, *Three Temptations,* 44–56, 170.

[28] *XL Homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* 1. 4 (*PL,* 76: 1091–92); see also *Decretum* C.1 q.1 c.114 (Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus juris canonici* [Leipzig, 1879–81], 1: 402–03).

[29] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, Venice, 1759–98) (hereafter Mansi), 19: 898.

[30] See the development traced by Jean Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis," *Studi Gregoriani,* 1 (1947): 523–30.

[31] *Liber ad amicum* 6 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite* [Hanover, 1891–97] [hereafter *MGH, Libelli*], 1: 591).

[32] Mansi, 21: 526.

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butcher was said to act as intermediary in the sale of ecclesiastical benefices.[33] John of Salisbury reported the reaction of a man who had lost a case in the court of St. Peter's successor and who had candidly attributed that loss to his opponent's liberal use of money. "Peter has gone traveling," said the man, "and his house is in the hands of money-changers."[34] Rome of course attracted both the avaricious and their zealous critics, and the papal court in particular became a favorite target for merciless satirists. One tale stressed the pope's devotion to two saintly martyrs, Albinus and Rufinus, the names standing respectively for silver and gold. The only manner of gaining access to the papal court was to present relics of these beloved saints. And once inside the court, only these saints could command papal attention and favors. The pope is depicted ceremoniously depositing relics such as kidneys of Albinus and ribs of Rufinus in the treasure of St. Cupidity, next to the shrine of his sister the Blessed Greed, both of these close by the basilica of Avarice, their mother.[35] Satirists also paid honor to a Saint, or Saintlet, Money (*Sanctus Nummulus*),[36] besides writing the famous *Gospel According to the Mark of Silver*.[37] Walter Map wrote about Mistress Purse, who opens her wrinkled lips and "who, though she is not love, yet conquers all at Rome."[38] Hard reality lay at the core of this satire, as demonstrated by the complaints of those who sought earnestly to fulfill missions at the papal court.[39] And quite apart from simony and bribery, there were troublesome questions about the legitimacy of professional fees and the propriety of the large and very costly papal bureaucracy. For good reason, then, the sources dealing with ecclesiastical history register a torrent of literature on the problem of avarice.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg drew up a four-part scheme of Christian history in one of his later works, *On the Fourth Nightwatch*, written in 1167. The first period in Gerhoh's scheme lasted from Christ to Constantine, the second from Constantine to Gregory I, the third from Gregory I to Gregory VII, and the fourth from Gregory VII to the present. Each period had imposed an especially onerous burden on the Christian church, and these burdens, taken in order, were the persecutions, the heresies, the corruption of morals, and avarice. The relationship of the first two to their respective periods is self-evident. Gerhoh did not explain *corruptio morum* very fully, yet it was

[33] *Vita B. Odiliae* 1. 3 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, 13: 206), cited by Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, 1954), 73–74.

[34] *Historia Pontificalis* 42 (ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall [Edinburgh, 1956], 85).

[35] *MGH, Libelli*, 2: 431. For many other examples of this type of literature, see John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire* (South Bend, 1963).

[36] Edélestand Pontas Du Méril, ed., *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), 89.

[37] Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1963), 183–84.

[38] *De nugis curialium* 1. 23 (ed. M. R. James [Oxford, 1914], 34).

[39] On resident proctors at the papal court, see Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, 1968), 38–48, and Peter Herde, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (2d ed.; Kallmünz, 1967), 125–48.

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against this, he said, that Gregory the Great had written many works, including especially the *Moralia in Job*. We can, then, cautiously infer that Gerhoh identified pride as the ranking evil of the third period. What is compellingly clear is Gerhoh's explicit identification of avarice as the major problem of the fourth period, the century introduced by Hildebrand.[40]

Alongside the new emphasis on avarice, a second group of texts can be cited in which the older view of pride's predominance continued to command respect. Hugh of Saint-Victor, for example, referred several times to the cardinal vices, consistently placing pride at the head of the list. Avarice he defined as an immoderate desire for having, without specifying the object of "having."[41] Stephen of Muret, though one of the radical initiators of a new spirituality, was described by his followers as a perpetuator of the traditional scheme of listing vices.[42] St. Bernard was another of the great innovators who kept the old scheme. His revolutionary insights into personal spiritual values are perhaps best seen in his writings on humility, but in the present context it should be observed that Bernard's preoccupation with humility was after all only the reverse side of a preoccupation with pride. In one sermon, though, he did alter the list of vices and he divided this list into two parts. Pride, vainglory, and envy were corruptions of the soul, while inquisitiveness, talkativeness, cruelty, and pleasure he considered corruptions of the body.[43] Caesar of Heisterbach incorporated the venerable list formulated by Gregory the Great into his *Dialogue of Miracles*, an influential work that long served as a basic handbook for Cistercian novices. Caesar's chapter on avarice stressed the general meaning of an immoderate craving for worldly things, and not necessarily for money.[44] Alan of Lille sought to give advice on suitable penances by proposing the active pursuit of virtues as antidotes to vices; thus a penance of charitable giving was counseled for the avaricious. At the head of his dual list Alan placed pride and humility.[45] This conservatism did not restrain his attack on the vice of avarice, which, he said, weakens friendship, generates hatred, breeds anger, plants wars, nourishes controversies, and ruptures family ties.[46] This list recalls the one formulated by Peter of Compostela, who called avarice the "seed of hate,

[40] *De quarta vigilia noctis* (*MGH, Libelli*, 3: 503–25), discussed by Peter Classen, in *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: eine Biographie, mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 292–98, 426–27.

[41] *Expositio in Abdiam* (*PL*, 175: 401); Wenzel lists several other references in "Seven Deadly Sins," 4–5 nn. 12, 13.

[42] *Liber Sententiarum* 10. 2, 86. 2 (*PL*, 204: 1095, 1120).

[43] *Sermo LXXIV de diversis* (*ibid.*, 183: 695); *Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, 3, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais [Rome, 1963], 13–59); see also Bernard's *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* 37. 1 (*ibid.*, 2, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais [Rome, 1958], 9). For a stimulating interpretation of the importance and subsequent influence of Bernard's spirituality of humility, see H. W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei, 1300–1450* (The Hague, 1969), especially 79–100.

[44] *Dialogus miraculorum* 4. 2, 57 (ed. Joseph Strange [Cologne, 1851], 1: 173–74, 223–24).

[45] *Summa de arte praedicatoria* 32, "De poenitentia, seu satisfactione" (*PL*, 210: 174).

[46] *De planctu naturae* (*ibid.*, 465).

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corruptor of morals, obstacle to peace, source of evil, mother of vices, she that gave birth to usury."[47]

In addition to those who placed special emphasis on either pride or avarice, other writers maintained the two on an even plane. Among these were Rupert of Deutz,[48] Werner of Kussenberg,[49] the pseudo-Hugh of Saint-Victor,[50] the pseudo-Bernard,[51] Peter Lombard,[52] Peter the Chanter,[53] James of Vitry,[54] and William Perrault.[55] The clearest balancing of the meanings and relative importance of the leading vices was given by William Perrault's Dominican colleague, Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas explored the possible meanings of pride and cupidity, electing to give to each the narrowest possible definition. Neither has to take precedence over the other, he argued, because Ecclesiasticus refers to pride as a "beginning" and 1 Timothy to cupidity as a "root." Between the meanings of "beginning" and "root" Thomas found space to maneuver away from the charge of biblical inconsistency. Finally, Thomas placed cupidity at one end of the list of seven vices, and then, consistent with Gregory the Great, he portrayed pride as a monarch reigning over all the others.[56]

Simultaneous with this outpouring of written texts on the cardinal vices was a similar outpouring of pictorial representations. The vast store of iconographic materials on pride and avarice awaits thorough study by art historians. Yet, by surveying the information stored in the Index of Christian Art, we can anticipate some of the eventual results of such a study.[57] The

[47] *De consolatione rationis libri duo* 1 (ed. Pedro Blanco Soto, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 8, pt. 4 [Münster, 1912], 79).

[48] *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas minores: in Habacuc prophetam* 2 (*PL*, 168: 617).

[49] *Deflorationes SS. Patrum* 2 (*ibid.*, 157: 1164–65).

[50] *Summa sententiarum* 3. 16 (*ibid.*, 176: 114).

[51] *Liber de modo bene vivendi* 37, 44–45 (*ibid.*, 184: 1258, 1266).

[52] *Sententiae* 2. 42, *In epistolam ad Colossenses* 3, *In Epistolam I ad Timothaeum* 6 (all in *ibid.*, 192: 753–54, 280, 359 respectively).

[53] *Verbum abbreviatum* 20, 21 (*ibid.*, 205: 72–78). The figure of a bloodsucker with two daughters comes from Proverbs 30:15. The identification of the daughters as *luxuria* and *avaritia* can also be found in the commentary of Honorius Augustodunensis *Quaestiones et responsiones in Proverbia* 30 (*PL*, 172: 328). Though Peter said he was quoting Jerome, he seems instead to have been following a commentary by Bede. See *In Proverbia Salomonis libri III* 3 (J. A. Giles, ed., *Opera omnia Bedae* [London, 1843–44], 9: 165).

[54] *Sermones in Epistolas et Evangelia dominicalia* (Antwerp, 1575), 217; *Historia occidentalis* 1, 2 (Douai, 1597), 259–64.

[55] *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Lyons, 1585), 2: *passim;* see also Antoine Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut: Vie et oeuvres," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 18 (1948): 162–236, especially 184–97.

[56] *Summa Theologiae*, 1–2, q. 84 (Blackfriars ed., 26 [London, 1965], 60–77). The text is discussed by Bloomfield, in *Seven Deadly Sins*, 87, and by Wenzel, in "Seven Deadly Sins," 7; for a lengthy discussion, see W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno* (Oxford, 1909).

[57] I wish to express my deep gratitude to the staff members of the Index of Christian Art, both at Princeton and UCLA, for their unfailing kindness and helpfulness. The basic task awaiting an industrious art historian, or, better, a team of such persons, is a cataloguing of all medieval representations of virtues and vices. Such a catalogue should include all individual virtues and vices as well as all pairings and larger groupings of them. This material should be cross-indexed by medium, location, date of execution, and patronage; other categories would undoubtedly come to mind. Distribution maps would perhaps prove useful. Such a study would most likely benefit from, or perhaps even require, the use of a computer. Ultimately the most

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Index lists about ninety representations of pride.[58] Our calculation is crude, for it embraces the arbitrary principle that a single work, such as an illustrated manuscript of the *Psychomachia*, even if it contains six separate representations of pride, is counted once. There are only about five representations for each of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and then over twenty for each of the following three centuries. This indicates not so much an increased concern of artists about pride as the increased number and activity of artists. It also conforms to the expected pattern for the survival of artifacts.

A study of representations of avarice yields a similar set of figures overall, but one in which the increase is more evenly progressive: for the ninth century there is one; for the tenth there are two; for the eleventh, ten; for the twelfth, twenty-eight; and for the thirteenth, thirty. The media include enamel, fresco, glass, manuscript illumination, metalwork, painting, and sculpture. Of these media, monumental sculpture offers a historian the simplest and most direct evidence of where it was executed; moreover, it gives assurance of having had a larger audience than any of the other media. Small, precious objects preserved and extended iconographic themes; they had their impact on a relatively small but highly influential audience, including artists, of course. But monumental sculpture had a vast public audience, particularly at major pilgrimage churches, which drew visitors from all of Western Christendom. Over half the sculptured representations of both pride and avarice are French, with the rest located in Germany, England, Scandinavia, and, in the case of avarice only, Spain and Italy. The Index lists no Italian or Spanish sculptured figures of pride. Both the limited value and the risks of such quantification should be immediately apparent. A roughly similar pattern for the two subjects, pride and avarice, exists nonetheless, with the slight chronological and geographical exceptions noted. Neither vice completely dominates the other; if avarice does not displace pride, starting in the eleventh or twelfth century, it holds its own well against that greatest of early medieval vices.

No meaningful quantification of the cases in which one vice dominates the other has been compiled, yet one can cite instances where, for example, either avarice or cupidity, rather than pride, is the chief vice. The illustrated encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer, produced in about 1120, sets in sharp contrast a good tree and an evil tree. A personified figure at the root of the good tree is identified as *karitas*, and similar figures, each representing a virtue, are shown on the branches of the tree. The inscription reads: "Just as many stems spring from one tree root, so many virtues are

meaningful observations will probably stem from stylistic analysis; therefore, such a study should include fresh, clear, color photographs of all the works in question.

[58] Charles M. Radding of Princeton University kindly did the initial work on pride for me at the Index. In thanking him here, I wish also to take full responsibility for any shortcomings in the way this material is used or explained.

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generated by charity alone." Meanwhile the evil tree is autumnal, barren, and uprooted. The root and each of the twelve branches has a medallion but no personified figure. Each medallion represents a vice; the root stands for *cupiditas*. A very similar work from about the same period identifies the root of a tree of vices as *superbia*. Two Regensburg miniatures, dated 1165, contrast the daughters of Zion and Babylon, as well as several virtuous with several sinful men from ancient history and the Bible. Each figure is accompanied by a particular virtue or vice; the daughter of Zion is appropriately shown with charity while the daughter of Babylon stands before the enthroned figure of cupidity.[59]

The study of avarice need not be limited to works clearly labeled as representations of avarice. The theme of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:19–31) is similarly instructive. Lazarus was the beggar who hoped to get crumbs from the sumptuous table of the rich man. Dogs licked at the sores on his wretched, diseased body. At his death, Lazarus was taken up into the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man went to face eternal torment in hell. Depictions of this theme began to have an appeal in the eleventh century as great as that of either pride or avarice, if one can judge by the more than eighty representations of the subject entered in the catalogue of the Index of Christian Art. Scenes depicting the personification of avarice sometimes appear along with Lazarus and the rich man, as on the west side of the magnificent and influential porch at Moissac.[60] The main characteristics of avarice-personified are often the same as, or similar to, those of the rich man. The two have in common the sacks and chests of money, the serpents who literally hang around their moneybags and necks, and the violence with which little devils yank out their souls after death. Avarice, moreover, is shown ignoring a pauper, while generosity ministers to the poor. This relationship between avarice and the pauper is reflected in the relationship between the rich man and Lazarus.

Without running the risks of a highly uncertain quantification, we can confidently assert that there is adequate representational material for use in a further investigation of the textual studies of Bloomfield and others. Perhaps Bloomfield was correct in criticizing Huizinga for magnifying unduly the shift from pride to avarice in the twelfth century. He can, after all, cite instances where avarice was stressed from earliest times, as well as instances where all the sins received greater emphasis in the twelfth century. But the persistence of tradition in literature and the visual arts was so great that anyone restricting his studies to those fields would probably not be able to conclude anything more precise than that pride remained consistently important while at a certain time avarice emerged from relative obscurity to share in this importance. Far greater precision can be gained from studying the development of spirituality in its economic and social context. Bloom-

[59] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 65–67, figs. 65, 66, p. 57, figs. 54, 55.
[60] Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," *Art Bulletin*, 13 (1931): 503–08.

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field in the end came back to a view not very different from Huizinga's. "The total impression remains," wrote Bloomfield, "that avarice is more violently and continually attacked than in the earlier period. And this is natural. The change in economic values from agrarian to mercantile and the increase in total national income would lead to a mounting appearance of cupidity, for cupidity could now be more easily measured."[61]

One may be inclined to accept almost implicitly that there is a connection between economic development and thought concerning the vices, but asserting that there is such a connection is not the same as demonstrating it. The extraordinary flowering of the European economy, starting in the eleventh century, is not in question. The main developments included the growth of commercial ties linking Byzantium with Venice and the Po Valley towns; the growth of industry in the latter region and in the Lowlands; a reaching out from Spanish, French, and Italian coasts into and eventually across the Mediterranean; the establishment of regular ties between northern Italy and the Lowlands via fairs, towns, and traveling merchants; a growing specialization that would integrate the European economy to such an extent that, for example, raw wool from Yorkshire could be made into cloth in Flanders and finished in Tuscany.[62] The same developments are inextricably bound up with important demographic change: an overall increase of about three hundred per cent between the early eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries; the concentration of some of this population in urban centers; and, because population growth was slower in urban than in rural areas, a steady migration of country dwellers to the cities.[63] This economic development, finally, is most markedly characterized by the widespread introduction of money into transactions where previously it had been virtually or entirely absent. The far more general use of specie in society was accompanied by an increasing sophistication in the techniques of manipulating money. Banking—the money trade—gained independence from other kinds of trade.[64]

While economic historians have succeeded in convincing their colleagues that all these important changes occurred, historians generally have been

[61] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 95.

[62] See *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2, ed. M. M. Postan and E. E. Rich (Cambridge, 1952), 119–354.

[63] On population generally, see J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958); on the movement of people from countryside to town, see Johan Plesner, *L'émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au XIII^e siècle*, tr. F. Gleizal (Copenhagen, 1934), discussed by Lucien Febvre, in "De la ville à la terre, ou de la terre à la ville: en Toscane au XIII^e siècle," in his *Pour une Histoire à part entière* (Paris, 1962), 398–403; see also Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, tr. Cynthia Postan (London, 1968), 128–29; David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven, 1958), 40–42; Erich Keyser, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1938), 213; and Gino Luzzatto, "L'inurbamento delle popolazioni rurali in Italia nei scc. XII e XIII," in *Studi di storia e diritto in onore di Enrico Besta* (Milan, 1939), 1: 183–203.

[64] For two basic works, see Marc Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe* (Paris, 1954), and Carlo M. Cipolla, *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World* (Princeton, 1956).

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reluctant to group these changes under the rubric "Commercial Revolution." This reluctance seems not to have diminished after R. S. Lopez used the term pointedly in the *Cambridge Economic History*, volume 2, the most authoritative survey of medieval commerce to date.[65] Lopez argued that the term should be used analogously with the phrase "Industrial Revolution." Medievalists other than Lopez have of course written of a "Commercial Revolution" and historians working on the sixteenth century have also used this term for their period.[66] While the matter hardly seems to merit all-out historiographical warfare, I should like to mention, in this connection, that I use the phrase "Commercial Revolution" to identify the period between 1000 and 1350, when virtually all the basic structures of Europe's commercial economy developed. As for the period before 1000, surely one need not mention the existence of a few merchants in precommercial Europe every time one refers to the Commercial Revolution any more than one need mention pre–Industrial-Revolution industry with each reference to the Industrial Revolution. As for the period after 1350, marked first by contraction and then by painfully slow recovery, the eventual period of growth brought advances of a kind never known before. But these advances, stemming principally from the expansion of Europe into other parts of the world, were mainly quantitative. The structural elements—such institutions or professions or techniques as fairs, market towns, guilds, business partnerships, merchant companies, money changers, notaries, merchant law, marine insurance, and letters of credit—had all been introduced earlier. A significant exception to this pattern is the development of double-entry bookkeeping, which began only toward the close of the fourteenth century.[67] In that case

[65] Pp. 289–93.

[66] Prosper Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe (Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, tr. Eileen Power (New York, 1927), 178; Raymond de Roover, "The Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 16 (1942): 34–39, reprinted in Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma, eds., *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (Homewood, 1953), 80–85; Jacques Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers du moyen âge* (Paris, 1956), 9–11; Howard L. Adelson, *Medieval Commerce* (Princeton, 1962), 68; Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution," *AHR*, 38 (1933): 219–39, reprinted in a collection of Lane's papers, *Venice and History* (Baltimore, 1966), 3–24; Laurence B. Packard, *The Commercial Revolution, 1400–1776* (New York, 1927); Robert R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (3d ed.; New York, 1965), 94; Ralph Davis, *A Commercial Revolution*, Historical Association Pamphlet, no. 64 (London, 1967), in which the phrase refers to the period 1660–1776 and, on page 3, it exchanges the indefinite for the definite article. Georges Duby (*La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* [Paris, 1953], 331) prefers to see the development not as a revolution but as a renewal or an amplification, the latter term being borrowed from Renée Doehaerd, "Au temps de Charlemagne et des Normands: Ce qu'on vendait et comment on le vendait dans le bassin parisien," *Annales E. S. C.*, 2 (1947): 266–80. Even so, Duby, in his article "Economie domaniale et économie monétaire: Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155" (*Annales E. S. C.*, 7 [1952]: 155–71), while using the term "renaissance" twice (pp. 156, 171), also refers to "the economic revolution" (p. 171).

[67] Raymond de Roover, "The Development of Accounting Prior to Luca Pacioli according to the Account-Books of Medieval Merchants," in A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey, eds., *Studies in the History of Accounting* (Homewood, 1956), 114–74; see also the same author's more general essay, "The Organization of Trade," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 3, ed. M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller (Cambridge, 1963), 42–118.

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the contracting economy seems to have been a stimulating factor, for the margins of profit had become precariously narrow. The history of the later period, of course, saw the introduction of such major institutions as the joint-stock company and the public debt, but surely no one could argue that the history of European commerce begins in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. And similarly, no one working over an old problem like the Weber-Tawney thesis would any longer set up a straw man built of clichés about a rural subsistence economy and label it "medieval economy." The economic history of preindustrial Europe, from 1000 to 1800, even with its rich variety of internal variations and developments, has a remarkably solid and consistent structural unity. We are concerned here with the first phase of that history, a phase marked by slight yet steady expansion, from its beginnings early in the eleventh century until the multiple calamities of the mid-fourteenth century.

Agreements about economic history and disagreements about historiography aside, we must turn to an area that has received far too little attention: the social effects of the changes wrought by the Commercial Revolution. The first of these effects has to do with the size of communities in which men lived. Prior to the eleventh century most Latin Christians lived in small communities, communities with populations of only a few hundred people. The nearly total reliance on the land and the relative inefficiency of agricultural exploitation together helped to keep the population small and scattered. Whether in noble households, Benedictine monasteries, or peasant villages, individuals had face-to-face relationships with everyone else in their respective communities. One critical effect of the economic development that began in the eleventh century was that a small but significant minority of people now experienced life in communities of a few thousand rather than a few hundred persons. Even though they lived with large families and their neighborhoods were made up mainly of persons who had emigrated from the same village, these people often had to deal with, or at least to see, other people who were partial if not total strangers.[68]

A second social effect of economic change worthy of attention has to do with the substitution of money for certain personal relationships. The tie between lord and vassal, for example, was traditionally established on a deeply personal basis: man to man (the vassal was the "man" of his lord), hand to hand (the vassal placed his hands between those of his lord), and face to face (the ceremony of homage was sealed with a kiss of peace). Peasants, too, had close ties not only with one another but with the lord—or the lord's steward—for whom they worked. Such personal ties were weakened by the spread of the cash nexus. The commutation of old obligations of military service into money payments was the first step toward

[68] On the size of villages, see Duby, *Rural Economy*, 11–15; on urban population, see Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, 102–07, 110–12; Robert Lopez, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2: 303; and H. van Werveke, in *ibid.*, 3: 37–40.

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substituting taxes and mercenaries for personally loyal retainers. The development of markets gave peasants an opportunity to benefit from surplus production and thus to purchase their way out of serfdom. Manorial workshops disappeared almost completely, to be replaced by the shops of urban craftsmen, who sold their wares in markets. In these and many other ways, older and more personal ties and obligations were being altered, or in some cases even abolished, by the money economy.[69]

These relatively new phenomena—living among strangers and using money—were closely associated because money is what makes it possible for strangers to cooperate; money, which Max Weber called "the most abstract and impersonal element that exists in personal life,"[70] can be thought of as a medium of exchange acceptable to strangers. It was also the instrument that made possible the high concentration of population. Wealth based on land and on its bulky products obviously takes up considerable space; but commerce, industry, and finance all require the concentration of wealth in small, durable, and standardized units, where it can be easily recognized, easily manipulated, and easily transferred. The technical effect of money on the enormous bulk of material goods in the economy of the eleventh century was not unlike the effect of computers on the bulk of information in our own society in that it meant a reduction in size, a standardization of measurement, and depersonalization. In both cases, rationalizing has rendered manipulation of the bulk feasible.

Money, then, was not only the convenient tool most characteristic of the new commercial society, but a substitute for some of the personal relationships basic to the precommercial society. The impersonal character of money would perhaps have created problems on its own, but, worse still, there existed no religious sanction for handling money. The earlier society had rendered sacred the vows and oaths that bound men together and had chosen to honor work done directly in the soil. Thus the relationships and activities of the old rural society found sanction. But the reverse of this traditional and prevailing morality was its explicitly anticommercial character. A letter of Pope Leo I, for example, announced that it is difficult to avoid sin in the course of buying and selling, and the point became firmly embedded in canon law and theology.[71] Such a morality had been formulated either in

[69] Duby, *Rural Economy*, 52–53, 91, 129–30, 180–81, 205–06, 208, 217–18; Herlihy, *Pisa*, 75; Herlihy, "Treasure Hoards in the Italian Economy, 960–1139," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 10 (1957): 1–14; J. O. Prestwick, "War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 4 (1954): 453–87; Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, tr. Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, 1966), 92–93.

[70] "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trs., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1958), 331.

[71] Mansi, 6: 404; *Decretum, De poen.*, 5, c. 2 (Friedberg, *Corpus juris canonici*, 1: 1240). Knowledge of these legal and theological problems has been advanced immeasurably by the studies of John W. Baldwin. See his *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1959); "The Medieval Merchant Before the Bar of Canon Law," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 44 (1959): 287–99; and *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of*

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the early Christian period, when Christians did not benefit from the flourishing urban-commercial society in which they lived; or in the patristic era, when that urban-commercial society was crumbling, and theologians were investing intellectual and emotional capital in an unworldly city; or, finally, in the feudal era, when commerce and city life were moribund. What was utterly new in the eleventh century was that a thoroughly Christian society, a society, that is, whose political, intellectual, and spiritual leaders as well as its members were Christian, a society that, moreover, was built on an agrarian economy, started to become an urban-commercial society. When the guardians of tradition searched the old morality for guidance, they found only strong opposition to the life of commerce. The gap between new social realities and the old morality fostered disorienting anxieties. This gap might also be expressed in chronological terms as a lag, a lag in morals stretching from the beginnings of the Commercial Revolution, in Italy in the eleventh century, to the late twelfth century, when the school masters—soon followed by the friar-theologians—began to formulate a new Christian ethic suitable for the new society.

In the intervening period the outmoded, hostile morality probably did not restrain the rapid advance of commercial activity, but it raised problems of conscience for those who participated in that activity. Usury, moneylending, commerce, and money itself had not yet been fully sorted out; they were all guilty, as it were, by association with one another. The effects of the new commercial economy, therefore, went much further than a mere reminder of the growth of commerce would show. Acute problems of dislocation, impersonalization, and moral uncertainty had been raised. With an appreciation of these problems, we are perhaps better prepared to investigate the challenge of avarice to the exclusive superiority of pride.

The allegorical figure of pride appears in medieval representations as a mighty person seated on a horse. This person is usually armed with at least a sword, and the horse is sometimes wearing protective and decorative devices. The prototype for this figure originated in the text of Prudentius and in battle scenes depicted by ancient Roman artists; but once pride was liberated from the *Psychomachia*, that is, once pride was depicted on its own without any particular reference to Prudentius, it went right on appearing in the same guise.[72] In Prudentius manuscripts, several drawings

Peter the Chanter and His Circle, (Princeton, 1970). See also Gabriel LeBras, "Conceptions of Economy and Society," in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 3: 554–75, and Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers*.

[72] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 1, 5, 6, pl. 1. The figure of pride, though mighty, mounted, and sword-brandishing, is often a female. This is because Prudentius personified all the virtues and vices as females, owing perhaps to the exigencies of Latin grammar, and because Gregory the Great designated pride as the queen of all vices. The grammatical explanation is put forth by Edward K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 206; Katzenellenbogen, on the other hand (*Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 1),

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appear in sequence. The magnificent figure of pride is shown riding hard, head high, when suddenly the horse stumbles and pride is thrown without ceremony but with great force to the ground. Then humility comes along, takes the sword offered by hope, and delicately lops off the head of pride.[73] Again, when pride appeared without any reference to Prudentius, and the artist was limited to showing the figure only once, the usual way to present to the viewer as much as possible at a single glance was to show pride as a rider plunging over the neck of his stumbling horse (fig. 1).

Here one recalls that Bloomfield identified pride as "the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism," and hence a rebellion against "a disciplined and corporate society, which the Middle Ages held as an ideal."[74] His personification of the Middle Ages at this point is so vague as to have virtually no meaning. The statement as a whole leaves unclear who was imposing upon whom this ideal of a disciplined social order and who was warning that the worst conceivable vice was pride as expressed in rebellion. Prior to the fourteenth century, peasant rebellion was not unknown, but neither was it the constant and ubiquitous social phenomenon so common in later centuries. Far more prevalent and threatening in the years between Louis the Pious and St. Louis was the lawlessness of knights. The more capable princes of those years were the ones who were able to eliminate or at least contain private warfare and attacks on defenseless persons. If the most spectacular success of Duke William of Normandy was his defeat of the English in 1066, the strength of his rule is perhaps better seen in his ability to control a large army through late August and most of September of that year, while awaiting the favorable winds that would carry them across the Channel. The chronicler William of Poitiers noted that Duke William provided generously for his men, meanwhile forbidding them to take anything from the countryside. Neither were the crops that awaited the harvest trampled by proud knights, noted William, nor did the weak and unarmed tremble at the sight of a swarm of soliders.[75] The expansion of the

argues that this is a classical tradition and that it is not dictated by grammar but, instead, by a desire to soften the appearance of fierceness and invincibility in the vices. In the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg, the different vices engage in battle with the virtues. Only pride is mounted (ed. Alexandre Straub and Gustave Keller [Strasbourg, 1879–99], pl. 43); she wears a turban and sits on a lion skin. At Notre Dame of Paris, ca. 1210, pride is carved as a falling rider (Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 76); compare the sketch by Villard de Honnecourt, ca. 1235 (Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt* [Vienna, 1935], pl. 6). See also the stained glass figures at Lyons, ca. 1220 (Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 83 n.1); and at Auxerre, ca. 1230 (*ibid.*); and the sculpture at Reims, ca. 1265 (*ibid.*, 82 n.2). A similar figure can be observed on the cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres. On the theme as it appears in Romanesque art, see René Crozet, "Nouvelles remarques sur les cavaliers sculptés ou peints dans les églises romanes," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1 (1958): 27–36.

[73] Richard Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften* (Berlin, text: 1895, plates: 1905).

[74] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 74–75.

[75] *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant* 2. 2 (ed. and tr. Raymonde Foreville [Paris, 1952], 150–53).

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Fig. 1. Pride is shown as a rider in Roman garb plunging off his horse, who has stumbled. ca. 1225. Chartres Cathedral, south porch. Photograph: James Austin.

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peace movement and widespread use of the crusade as a penance for brigandage also testify to this problem of controlling the abuse of power on the part of the powerful.[76]

The complaint was registered by monastic authors and monastic artists, who, like most monks, came from the knightly, fighting class. The writings about and pictures of pride, it would seem, suggest that attacks on this vice represent the self-criticism of the powerful. Society in the precommercial era was divided among those who prayed, those who fought, and those who worked.[77] All earthly power was vested in the second of these groups, the knightly ruling class, whose obligations included the protection of those who prayed and of those who worked. The greatest potential abuse in this society was an unrestrained attack by the powerful against the weak. Warnings against the sin of pride appear to be a device for checking such an abuse. A feudal contract always imposed obligations on both parties to the particular agreement in question. Hence there were legal restrictions against the arbitrary use of power. Moreover, the sacralizing of oaths placed religious restraint on the use of power. With the attacks on pride we see a moral restraint, directed to a similar end.

No one need deny the original and continuing influence of the Prudentius manuscripts in order to perceive representations of pride as depictions of feudal knights. Even when the falling rider retained most of the attributes of a Roman soldier, he was able at the same time, if on a different level, to stand for a contemporary knight. In feudal society the horse was both the chief symbol and chief instrument of power. When the bishop of Limoges excommunicated some knights for violating the peace in 1031, he also anathematized their weapons and their horses.[78] A knight, as the term in various European languages suggests (*eques, caballarius, cavaliere, chevalier, caballero, Ritter*), was a man who rode a horse, and any depiction of a mounted soldier, no matter how many levels of interpretation

[76] Georges Duby, "Les laïcs et la Paix de Dieu," in *I laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI e XII,* Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 5 (Milan, 1968), 453–54; Etienne Delaruelle, "La vie commune des clercs et la spiritualité populaire au XI^e^ siècle," in *La Vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII,* Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 3 (Milan, 1962), 1: 167–78; see also Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des institutions de paix au XI^e^ siècle," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 19–26; Paul Rousset, "L'idée de croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'occident," in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche,* 3 (Florence, 1955), 547–63, especially 552; and H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present,* no. 46 (1970): 42–67.

[77] Adalbero of Laon *Carmen ad Robertum regem francorum* 297–98 (*PL,* 141: 781–82): "Triplex Dei ergo domus est, quae creditur una;/Nunc orant alii, pugnant, aliique laborant." (Thus the Lord's house, which is thought to be one, is really threefold: while some pray, others fight, and still others work.) On the general currency of this division, see Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), 370–73, and Jacques Le Goff, "Note sur société tripartie, idéologie monarchique et renouveau économique dans la chrétienté du IX^e^ au XII^e^ siècle," in Tadeusz Manteuffel and Aleksander Gieysztor, eds., *L'Europe aux IX^e^–XI^e^ siècles: Aux origines des Etats nationaux* (Warsaw, 1968), 63–71.

[78] Ludwig Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden,* 1 "Die Friedensordnungen in Frankreich" (Ansbach, 1892), 214, text cited and discussed by Duby, "Les laïcs et la Paix de Dieu," 454.

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the artist intended, would have been seen as a knight. A complete transformation of pride from a traditional Roman soldier to a twelfth-century knight did, however, take place at the Benedictine monastery and pilgrimage church of Sainte Foy at Conques.[79] On the Last Judgment tympanum of that church the leading figure among the damned is pride, shown as a falling rider (fig. 2). He is fully clothed in a suit of chain mail; both his head and the horse's head are about to hit the ground. One little devil assists the force of gravity by pulling the knight down, while another, standing above, drives a pitchfork deep into his back. On the same tympanum the leading virtue, placed immediately at the right hand of the Savior, is humility.[80]

No less remarkable than this twelfth-century carved knight is an eleventh-century monastic text that relates stories of the miracles of Sainte Foy. These miracle stories were written down in about 1020 by Bernard of Angers, a former student at Chartres. The stories formed an essential part of the culture common to all associated with the monastery and were therefore surely known to the designer of the tympanum. One of the stories tells about a knight named Rainon, who had often been in conflict with the monks of Sainte Foy and had accordingly been excommunicated by them. He happened upon a group of these monks one day and decided on his own to attack them. He bolted from his entourage and, filled with pride and fearing neither God nor His saint, drove his spurs into the flanks of his horse and bore down on the defenseless monks. Just as he was almost upon them, divine vengeance intervened by causing the horse to stumble. Rainon shot forward with such force that his neck was broken and his skull fractured into several pieces.[81]

Our erudition leads us to see the shadow of Prudentius lurking behind this story, but Bernard of Angers' erudition, while it led him to think of Prudentius, only made the story more real for him. What a remarkable experience for a student, he commented, to confront pride, not in one's imagination, as when reading the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius, but in corporeal reality. Here, then, was an explicit association of an ancient text with a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, happening. A century later these would in turn be associated by a sculptor with the theological and iconographic programs of the vices. Bernard finished this tale with a reminder for those whose hearts were filled with pride to take a lesson from

[79] Such a transformation is in accordance with Panofsky's "'principle of disjunction': wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its form from a classical model, this form is almost invariably invested with a non-classical, normally Christian, significance; wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its theme from classical poetry, legend, history or mythology, this theme is quite invariably presented in a non-classical, normally contemporary, form." Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), 84.

[80] Auguste Bouillet and Louis Servières, *Sainte Foy: vièrge et martyre* (Rodez, 1900), 130–37; Louis Bousquet, *Le Judgement dernier au tympan de l'église Sainte-Foy de Conques* (Rodez, 1948), 39–46, pl. 8; Christoph Bernoulli, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue* (Basel, 1956), 62–71.

[81] *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* 1. 5 (ed. Auguste Bouillet [Paris, 1897], 24–26).

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Fig. 2. Pride is here depicted as a twelfth-century knight, falling off his horse with the aid of two devils. On the right, this scene overlaps with the depiction of pleasure, which is the next in a series of vices carved on this tympanum of Sainte Foy at Conques. ca. 1140. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.

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this example. Equally pointed were the warnings carved on the tympanum at Sainte Foy. The inscription above the damned says: "In such a way are perverse men plunged into hell"; the one below says: "O sinners, unless you change your ways, know that you will face a harsh judgment."

Avarice is never depicted riding a horse. He is usually seen at a counting table, sorting out and counting his coins. He places them in sacks and chests (fig. 3). Sometimes he has a sack attached to his belt; sometimes sacks or chests are under the table. The chests of money belonging to the rich man in the Lazarus sequences appear both under his banquet table and under his deathbed (fig. 4).[82] This figure of avarice related to a new element in society, one not included in the tenth-century triad of those who pray, those who fight, and those who work. Depictions of avarice give us some of our earliest glimpses of the merchant class. The characteristics of avarice are transferred not only to the rich man and to merchants, but also to that most vile of all merchants, Judas, as well as to Jews more generally (fig. 5).[83]

The small, crouching figure of avarice is markedly different from the tall, magnificent figure of pride. Avarice is a compulsive accumulator; he clutches his sacks with tight fists and an attitude of grim desperation (fig. 6). He is often paired with generosity and thus his characteristics are all the more clear, since generosity has relaxed muscles and open fists, and is usually shown dispensing liberally the contents of moneybags and treasure chests.[84] At Vézelay and Autun avarice is a wretched little figure, shown squatting.[85] His vast mouth is open wide and in each fist he grasps a bulging sack of coins (fig. 7). He consists mainly of alimentary canal, open at the receiving end and closed at the other. The decaying matter is stored not in his intestines so much as in those moneybags. Innocent III observed that both the avarici-

[82] These traits of avarice and the rich man were observed in virtually all the representations studied at the Index of Christian Art. On the transfer of avarice's characteristics to Dives, see Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Art Bulletin*, 21 (1939): 315, 325–27; see also Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 58.

[83] These observations are made on the basis of a study of more than 175 representations in the Index of Christian Art. In the *Hortus deliciarum* (ed. Straub and Keller, pl. 60), Judas appears as a merchant, labeled "Judas mercator," and the accompanying text explains that "Judas mercator pessimus significat usurarios. . . ." The previous reference and further discussion can be found in Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," 327 n.23. See also Wilhelm Porte, *Judas Ischarioth in der bildenden Kunst* (Berlin, 1883), 73, and Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966), 88–95. On the relationship of Jews to the problems of commerce and money under discussion here, see my essay "The Function of the Jews in the Commercial Revolution," in *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII*, Atti dell' VIII Convegno storico internazionale del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale (Todi, 1969), 271–87.

[84] In the *Psychomachia*, lines 573–628 (ed. H. J. Thompson [Cambridge, Mass., 1949], 1: 318–23), Prudentius has *Operatio* (Good Works) triumph over *Avaritia* and then distribute the latter's treasures to the needy. The figure placed opposite *Avaritia* is sometimes *Caritas* but more often *Largitas* or *Generositas*. Regardless of the name, this figure has remarkably consistent attributes and activities, particularly the distribution of whatever *Avaritia* has been hoarding. On charity and its relationship to avarice and other vices, see R. Freyhan, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 11 (1948): 68–86, especially 81.

[85] Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961), pls. 19a, 19c; Francis Salet, *La Madelaine de Vézelay* (Melun, 1948), pl. 31.

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ous man and hell eat but do not digest; each of them receives but does not give back.[86] The comparison was apt; hell is usually depicted as a gaping mouth (figs. 8, 9).

This disgust and contempt for the figure of avarice is shown further in his frequent association with slimy serpents, wicked devils, and those debased replicas of men, mocking apes. By the early fourteenth century the extraordinary pictorial theme of men and apes defecating coins appeared. In one manuscript drawing, a worried-looking ape, with his right paw under his chin and his left paw under his knee, defecates three coins into a golden bowl (fig. 10); in the same work a hybrid man is shown defecating gold coins into a bowl held by an ape (fig. 11). The preoccupations of the artist are clearer still when we see on another page that he depicts what could be either a harsh enema or a method for breaking the bank; the drawing shows a unicorn, head down, charging full speed at the rear of a crouched-over monkey (fig. 12). A similar notion of money as filthy and disgusting waste, while not anal in imagery, is seen in the picture of a monster-head vomiting gold coins into a golden bowl.[87] This foul money of gothic marginalia presents a sharp contrast with the precious royal and imperial coins that decorate the borders of Carolingian and Ottonian books of the gospels.[88]

If pride was the greatest vice of those who held power in precommercial society, then avarice held a corresponding place in connection with the rich people of commercial society.[89] The horrors of feudal or private war-

[86] *De miseria humane conditionis* 2. 14 (ed. Michele Maccarrone [Lucca, 1955], 49–50).

[87] MS, Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 6, f. 157^{v}. See Lillian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), 84. For the ape as *figura diaboli* and/or the devil as *simia Dei*, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Apelore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952), 13–27.

[88] Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne, ses origines, son développement* (Paris, 1913), pl. 41; Albert Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.* (Berlin, 1933), pls. 8, 9. For this observation and the references I am grateful to Professor Carl Nordenfalk.

[89] While the argument is made above that the critics of pride came from the same class as those most likely to be proud, a parallel argument about avarice is not satisfactory. Meyer Schapiro ("The Sculpture of Souillac," in William R. W. Koehler, ed., *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* [Cambridge, Mass., 1939], 2: 359–87) suggests (p. 383) that the special emphasis on avarice and unchastity betrayed a concern over the growing strength of secular interests, in particular of the rising burgher class (avarice), and of the higher feudal nobility with their aristocratic, libertine culture (unchastity). But such an argument requires that some impersonal, classless, disinterested institution, "the church," make the decisions about what is sinful and how the standard should be publicized. The argument that comes closest to the one given in the present essay is found in Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1964), 309–13. While Le Goff does not name those who rail against pride, he says that the writers and artists who attack avarice work for the traditional directing classes. But many of the scathing representations of avarice appear in connection with the new cathedrals and hence appear under the sponsorship of the successful urban merchants. This problem is highly complex and would require an entirely separate study. The attacks on avarice cannot be attributed simply to the merchant class in the way that those against pride can be attributed almost exclusively to the (knightly) monks. For a judicious handling of a similar problem in connection with the sponsorship of temperance between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Lynn White, Jr., "The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology," in Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel, eds., *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969), 197–219.

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fare had their counterparts in the miseries of involuntary poverty. In one age those without power were at the mercy of rampaging knights; in the other, those without wealth were at the mercy of ruthless usurers. If the precarious condition of the weak was steadied by the growth of strong government, the relative economic stability of the poor was shaken by the growth of a capricious money economy. The development in vulnerability was from a fear of force to a fear of foreclosure. The greatest social danger evolved from an uncontrolled desire for power on the part of the strong to an uncontrolled desire for money on the part of the rich.

A change in the notion of the chief vice, then, clearly took place, and ample evidence shows that far more was involved than the mere existence through time of two abstractions, with one or the other in ascendancy, or the two neatly reconciled. If the theme of the vices itself had already transcended several centuries and gained a quasi-independent existence, the alterations of the theme as it passed from a precommercial to a commercial age were firmly rooted in social realities. A final confirmation of the point could presumably be found by examining the highest states of life provided by society. Prior to the thirteenth century the highest ideals and aspirations of Latin Christian society were embedded in the religious life. This notion of the religious life was technical, limited to those special people—set apart from everyone else—who fulfilled the religious function for all society. The notion did not of course die out in the thirteenth century, but it was then challenged by an increasingly widespread belief that laymen could lead lives as good, as Christian, or as religious as those of monks or priests. As long, though, as the religious life remained the closed preserve of a relatively small elite, the evolution of the ideals of the religious life itself indicated historical development with revealing clarity. One indeed finds in this same evolution confirmation of the shifting importance of pride and avarice.

The accepted and nearly exclusive mode of the religious life up to the eleventh century was Benedictine monasticism. A Benedictine monk took a vow of total obedience and thereby surrendered his will utterly to his abbot. The chief virtue of a Benedictine, and, hence, the guarantor of his obedience, was humility.[90] The degrees of humility remained a consistent theme of Benedictine authors. With the appearance of hermits in Italy at the start of the eleventh century, there began a movement that was to provide considerable variety in the available forms of the religious life.[91] That movement, after it passed via numerous eremetic, monastic, and clerical reform groups as well as various lay evangelical brotherhoods, some of which were declared heretical, culminated in the establishment of the great mendicant

[90] *Regula monachorum* 5, 7, 58 (*CSEL*, 75: 35–52, 138).

[91] The single basic work is a collection of essays, *L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 4 (Milan, 1965).

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Fig. 3. Avarice is here shown as a female, seated by a strongbox handling coins. This carving belongs to the same series as the depiction of pride in fig. 1. Photograph: Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg.

Facing page

Fig. 4. The rich man on his deathbed. While a serpent slithers about the moneybags underneath, devils above remove the rich man's soul with tongs. Early 12th cent. sculptured capital. Church of La Madeleine at Vézelay. Photograph: James Austin.



Fig. 5. Judas receiving the silver from a group of Jews. The pointed hats identify all these men as Jews. 13th cent. manuscript illumination. New York, Morgan Library, M756, f. 7^{v}. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library.

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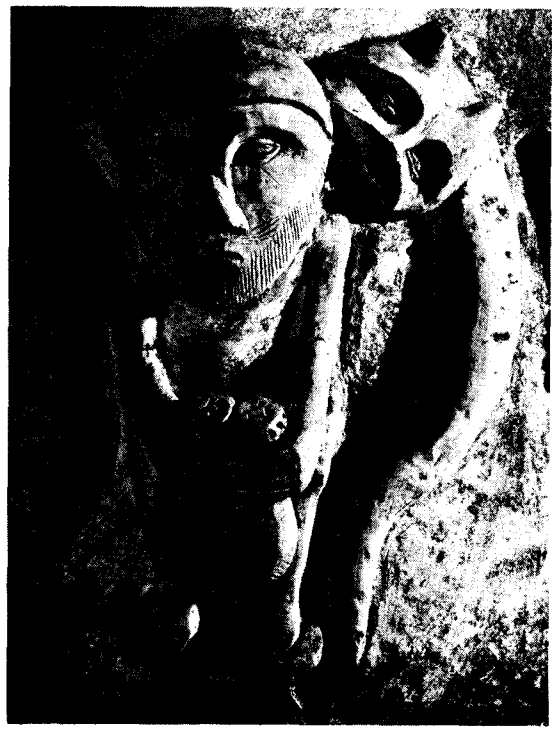


Fig. 6. Avarice clutches two moneybags, while a serpent with a catlike head taunts him. ca. 1113. sculptured capital. Crypt of Saint Parize-le-Châtel. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.



Fig. 7. Avarice clutching moneybags. Early 12th cent. capital. Now in the chapter room of the cathedral at Autun. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.



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Fig. 8. Deaths of Lazarus and the rich man. Two angels solemnly prepare to carry the soul of Lazarus to heaven, where it will be taken to Abraham's bosom. Just below, a devil gleefully pokes the rich man and his cohorts into a cavernous hell-mouth. ca. 1145. From the frieze, façade of Lincoln Cathedral. Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art.

Facing page

Fig. 9. The punishment of avarice. In the center, avarice is weighted down with three money-bags and a strongbox, while a devil pulls avarice's teeth with pincers. To the right, the sinful are boiled in a cauldron. To the left, they are jammed by devils into the gaping jaws of hell. ca. 1200. Relief sculpture, west exterior of the Church of Maria Assunta, Fornovo di Taro. Photograph: Foto Tosi (Parma).

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Fig. 10. Ape defecating coins into a bowl. Early 14th cent. manuscript illumination. London, British Museum, Add. 29253, f. 410v. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.

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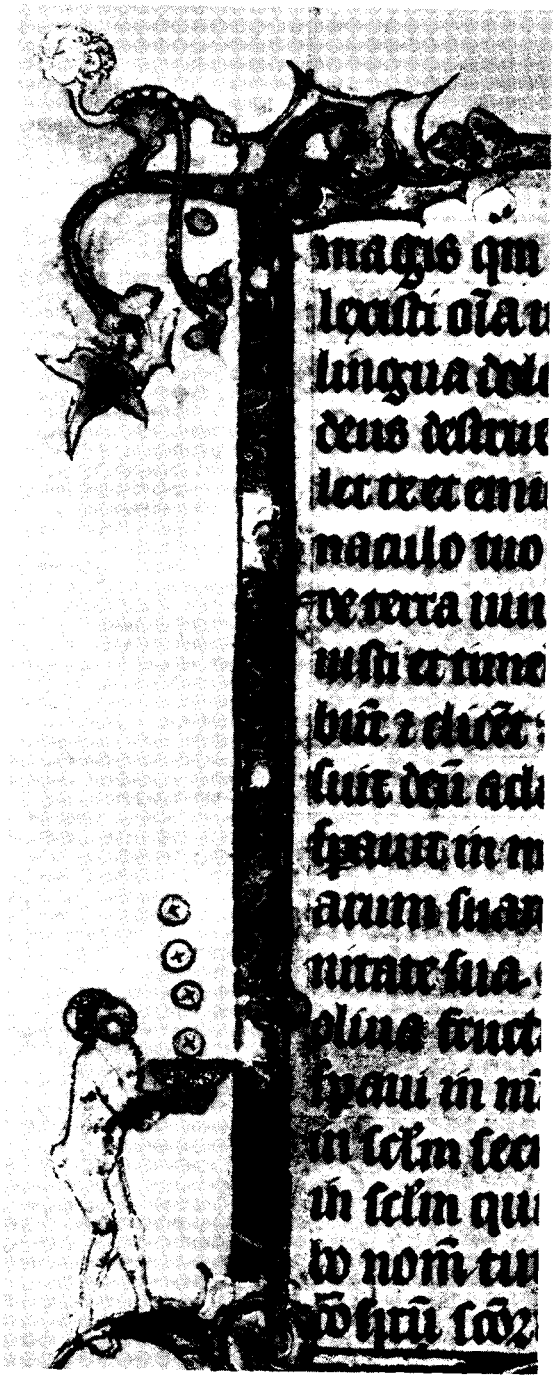


Fig. 11. Hybrid figure defecating coins into a bowl held by an ape. From the same manuscript as fig. 10, f. 41v. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.

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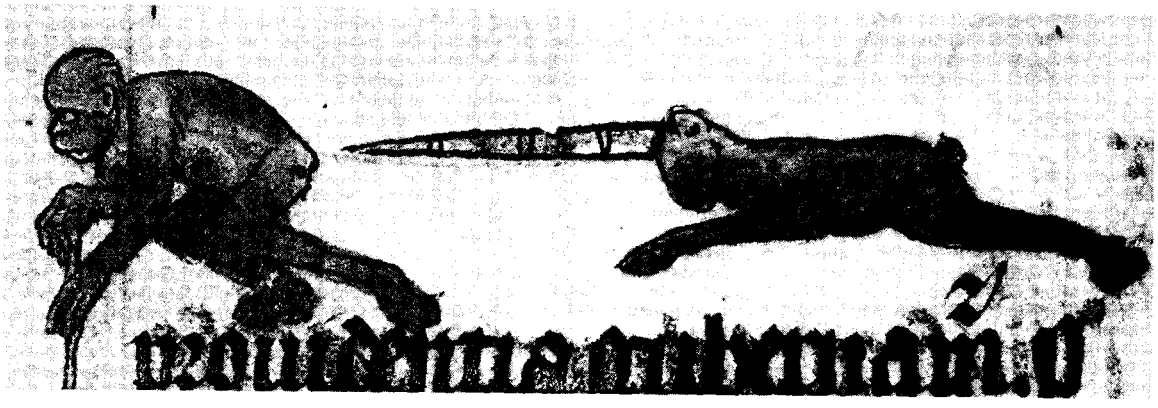


Fig. 12. Unicorn charging at an ape. From the same manuscript as fig. 10, f. 255v. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.

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orders early in the thirteenth century.[92] The members of these new orders, the friars, did not insist on obedience in the way the Benedictines had. Instead the friars regarded their rules as existing only for the convenience and smooth operation of their respective orders. A violation of such rules was considered a matter in need of correction but not a fault that would weigh on the conscience.[93] The chief virtue of the friar was, of course, not humility but total and literal poverty.[94]

No one will deny that a monk was supposed to be poor or a friar humble. The distinction is partially a matter of emphasis. Yet the poverty of the friars cannot simply be equated with that of the monks, for the very meanings of *paupertas* and of *pauper* were not static. To be poor in the age prior to the Commercial Revolution meant principally to be without power.[95] Benedictine monks, the ones whose spirituality articulated the highest religious ideals of the precommercial period, had generally come from knightly, wealthy families. When they entered the monastic life, they left behind their horses and weapons. At the same time they also abandoned their wealth, with the difference that they abandoned it usually to the very monasteries they joined. If a monk no longer had control over his former wealth, he continued to enjoy its benefits within the collective comfort of his adopted

[92] M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, tr. Jerome Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), especially the essays entitled "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," 202–38, and "The Evangelical Awakening," 239–69. See also Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (2d ed.; Hildesheim, 1961), and Giovanni Miccoli, "Ecclesiae Primitivae Forma," in his *Chiesa Gregoriana: Ricerche sulla Riforma del secolo XI* (Florence, 1966), 225–99.

[93] For the Franciscans, see Francis of Assisi *Opusculum commonitorium et exhortatorium* (ed. Heinrich Boehmer, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franziskus von Assisi* [Tuebingen, 1904], 53); for the Dominicans, see Humbert of Romans *Opuscula de vita regulari* (ed. J. J. Berthier [Rome, 1888–89], 2: 46).

[94] M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London, 1961); R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans* (Cambridge, 1937), 31–51; W. A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers," *Catholic Historical Review*, 45 (1959–60): 436–53.

[95] Michel Mollat, "Pauvres et pauvreté à la fin du XII^e siècle," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 41 (1965): 305–23; *idem*, "La notion de la pauvreté au moyen âge: position des problèmes," *Revue de l'église de France*, 52 (1966): 5–23; Georges Duby, "Les pauvres des campagnes dan l'occident médiéval jusqu'au XIII^e siècle," *ibid.*, 25–32; Michel Mollat, "Le problème de la pauvreté au XII^e siècle," in *Vaudois languedociens et Pauvres Catholiques*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 2 (Toulouse, 1967), 23–47; J. M. Bienvenu, "Pauvreté, misères et charité en Anjou aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Le Moyen Age*, 72 (1966): 389–424, and 73 (1967): 5–34, 189–216; Jean Devisse, "*Pauperes* et *Paupertas* dans le monde carolingien: ce qu'on dit Hincmar de Reims," *Revue du Nord*, 48 (1966): 273–87; Régine le Jan-Hennebicque, "*Pauperes* et *Paupertas* aux IX^e et X^e siècles," *ibid.*, 50 (1968): 169–87; Jean-Claude Dufermont, "Les Pauvres d'après les sources anglo-saxonnes du VII^e au XI^e siècles," *ibid.*, 189–201; G. Penco, "Per la storia della povertà religiosa nel Medio Evo," *Rivista di ascetica e mistica*, 2 (1968): 173–82; Karl Bosl, "Potens und Pauper. Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Differenzierung im frühen Mittelalter und zum 'Pauperismus' des Hochmittelalters," in Alexander Bergengruen and Ludwig Deike, eds., *Alteuropa und die moderne Gesellschaft: Festschrift für O. Brunner* (Göttingen, 1963), 60–87. Just as "poor" meant to be without power, so "rich" meant to be powerful. In commenting on the depiction of Charlemagne in "The Song of Roland" as a "rich emperor," George F. Jones, in *The Ethos of the Song of Roland* ([Baltimore, 1963], 57), says: "The word *riches*, which was derived from Old High German *rihhi*, was cognate not only with *rich, riche*, and *reich*, but also with *Reich* and *rex*; and its basic meaning was rule or power rather than wealth."

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community. He could no longer use his old weapons either directly or vicariously, though it may be that he unconsciously redirected much of his old combativeness into the bellicose monastic liturgy of the time.[96] What a man really abandoned for good when he joined a Benedictine monastery was not his wealth but his power.

Religious reformers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries almost all attacked the Benedictines for their wealth, pointing to glaring contradictions between their wealth, both landed and of the newer, liquid sort, and their profession of poverty. The eremetic reformers had a common point of departure in their distaste for the ease and comfort of Benedictine life. The more noted of them, men such as Romuald of Ravenna, John Gualbert, Peter Damian, and Bernard of Tiron, all experienced that life and rejected it in favor of the simpler, poorer hermitage. Ivo of Chartres expressed concern over the scathing attacks against monks by one Reginald the Hermit. Reginald replied with a brief lesson on evangelical poverty and perfection, adding: "You know as well as I that cenobitic cloisters rarely or never include this standard of perfection . . . because they exclude as much as possible the poverty that Christ the pauper preached."[97]

The Benedictines themselves of course could not accept this kind of criticism, because they saw no contradiction between their own wealth and their own poverty. What they meant by poverty was poverty of spirit, or humility.[98] Bede, echoing a sermon of St. Augustine, defined a wealthy person as one who has riches and is thereby inflated, or as one who does not have wealth but wishes he did simply in order to be exalted. Similarly a poor person is one who has nothing and wishes for nothing, or else he is one who has much but acts as if he did not. The latter point is clearly critical and unfortunately remains unexplained by Bede. He goes on to give assurance, however, that when the day of judgment comes God will examine not one's wine cellar or coffers, but rather one's conscience.[99] The test of poverty

[96] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," to appear in *Viator*, 2 (1971).

[97] Germain Morin, "Rainaud l'ermite et Ives de Chartres: un épisode de la crise du cénobitisme au XI^e^-XII^e^ siècle," *Revue Bénédictine*, 40 (1928): 101.

[98] Odo of Cluny, for example, wrote a biography of St. Gerald, Count of Aurillac, which is interesting in this connection (*PL*, 133: 639–704). Gerald was both wealthy and powerful, and he successfully maintained both conditions. He is frequently praised by Odo for his generous benefactions, for he spent great sums on certain extraordinarily elaborate gifts. Yet a major theme of the biography is Gerald's exemplary poverty of spirit. He was a fierce combatant, for if persuasion failed to soothe an enemy, he was not afraid to break the teeth of the wicked (Ps. 57:7). This tough behavior stemmed not from love of violence but from love of the poor, defined by Odo as those not able to protect themselves. See *Vita Geraldi* 1. 8 (*PL*, 133: 646). See Johannes Fechter, *Cluny, Adelund Volk: Studien über das Verhältnis des Klosters zu den Ständen (910–1156)* (Stuttgart, 1966), especially 60–64. Peter Damian reports an interview St. Romuald had with Henry II, successively listing the "violence of the powerful" and the "oppression of the poor" among the topics discussed. See *Vita Romualdi* 65 (ed. Giovanni Tabacco [Rome, 1957], 108). For examples of early medieval statements that define poverty as poverty of spirit, hence as humility, see Leo the Great *Sermones* 95. 2 (*PL*, 54: 461–62) and Gregory the Great *Moralia in Job* 6.22; 16.46; 21.16; 26.27 (*ibid.*, 75: 750, 1149; 76: 205, 378).

[99] *In Lucae evangelium expositio* 4.14 (*PL*, 92: 515); *In psalmorum librum exegesis, in psalmum XLVIII* (*ibid.*, 93: 734). The likely Augustinian source is *Sermones de vetere testa-*

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would be a state of mind and not an inventory of worldly goods. By arguing in this way, Benedictines could be wealthy and still consider themselves the poor of God.[100] Indeed the precise point on which they criticized the new form of eremetic life was pride; the monks argued that a hermit lacked opportunities to exercise fraternal charity and to experience fraternal correction, and that he therefore courted the dangers of spiritual pride.[101]

The Benedictines exchanged polemics with monastic reformers as well as with hermits. The barbed comments of St. Bernard on the immoderate grandeur of Cluny are only the best known of these polemics; he asked the Cluniacs rhetorically, and with help from a line of Roman poetry: "Tell me, you poor men (if, indeed, you are poor men), what is this gold doing in your sanctuary?"[102] What Bernard made so vividly explicit was quietly implicit in the simpler, more ascetic ways of life established by new monastic groups like the Camaldoli, the Vallombrosians, the Carthusians, and the Cistercians.[103]

Another sector of the religious transformation then in progress was the canonical reform, a program largely instigated by Hildebrand and his immediate cohorts on behalf of a regular, canonical life for priests, with strict adherence to complete poverty in imitation of the Apostles.[104] The regular canons also had their battles with the monks, raising questions about their relative age and spiritual dignity, about the active life versus the contemplative, and about the association of one or the other group with such venerable figures as Mary and Martha, Michael and Peter, or Augustine and Gregory. One monastic writer respectfully placed the canons below the monks on the basis of the relative status of their patrons: "We do not scorn the blessed Augustine, but we confidently place before him Martin, bishop and monk, and even more Gregory, apostle [that is, pope] and monk."[105] The main point of disagreement between monks and canons was their interpretation of the apostolate. A standard claim of the canons read: "The incontrovertible verdict of the fathers of the church decides solemnly that the order of canons should be by every right placed above all others. This is not astonish-

mento 14 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina [Turnhout, 1961], 185–91). There Augustine asks why he should praise a poor man who is humble, since he has nothing that should make him proud. "Praise the rich man who is humble," advises Augustine, "praise the rich man who is poor."

100 Michael von Dmitrewski, *Die christliche freiwillige Armut vom Ursprung der Kirche bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1913), 68–70.

101 Ivo of Chartres took up the Benedictine position in arguing against Reginald; see his *Epistolae* 256 (*PL*, 162: 260–62).

102 *Apologia ad Guillelmum S. Theodorici abbatem* 12.28 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, 3: 104).

103 For a compact and highly suggestive study of monastic constitutions, see David Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders* (Oxford, 1966).

104 Charles Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI[e] siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 41 (1946): 367–406; John C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950); collection of essays in *La Vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII* (Milan, 1962).

105 *Epistola Roberti ad Liezelinum canonicum* (*PL*, 170: 667).

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ing, since it carries on the work of Christ and the Apostles in preaching, baptizing, and administering the other sacraments of the church."[106] The basis of this canonical claim, in turn, was that their adherence to apostolic poverty qualified them for the apostolate. Peter Damian, in helping to shape some of the earliest expressions of canonical reform, made explicit this critical connection between poverty and preaching: "The only men fit for the office of preaching are those who lack the support of earthly riches and who, because they possess nothing whatever of their own, hold everything in common."[107]

Arnold of Brescia, too often remembered as a heretic and too seldom as a regular canon, lectured briefly on the scriptures in Paris. Only students so poor that they had to beg came to hear him, and the reason, according to John of Salisbury, was that Arnold "said things that were entirely consistent with the law accepted by Christian people, but not at all with the life they led. To the bishops he was merciless on account of their avarice and filthy lucre. . . ."[108] Arnold's contemporary, and fellow regular canon, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, argued that all priests should follow the apostolic rule of voluntary poverty; only those who did so could properly be considered *pauperes Christi,* the poor men of Christ.[109] In his four-part historiographical scheme, mentioned earlier, Gerhoh specified those groups that kept the vigil in each of the stormy periods of Christian history. In the age of the persecutions it had been the martyrs; in the age of heresies, the confessors; in the age of corrupted morals, the holy fathers; and in the present age, that of avarice, it was the disciples of Christ, those who renounced all worldly possessions.[110] Finally, after these many reformers—eremetic, monastic, and canonical—the Poor Men of Lyons, or Waldenses, who in their preaching emphasized the dangers of accumulating wealth,[111] and Francis, the Poverello of Assisi, whom later tradition had take as his bride Lady Poverty, articulated the new spirituality in its best known and most advanced forms. The handsomely endowed Benedictine corporations did not wither away because of competition from these various reform groups, but on account of that competition they declined in quality, for they could no longer attract the brightest, most sensitive, most creative young men of the day.

A review of the highest ideals of the Christian life shows that when a man

[106] A. Carrier de Belleuse, ed., *Coutumier du XI^e siècle de l'ordre de S. Ruf.* (Sherbrooke, 1950), 97.

[107] *Contra clericos regulares proprietarios* 6 (*PL,* 145: 490).

[108] *Historia Pontificalis* 31 (ed. Chibnall, 63–64).

[109] *De aedificio Dei* 45 (*PL,* 194: 1306). The first part of a thorough study of this question has appeared; see Anna Lazzarino Del Grosso, "Povertà e ricchezza nel pensiero di Gerhoch di Reichersberg," *Annali della Facoltà di Guirisprudenza dell'Università di Genova,* 8 (1969): 146–93.

[110] *De quarta vigilia noctis* (*MGH, Libelli,* 3: 509–10).

[111] Durand of Osca *Liber antiheresis* (ed. Kurt-Victor Selge, in his *Die ersten Waldenser* [Berlin, 1967], 2: 8, 72, 75, 96, 104–09).

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became a Benedictine, he definitively abandoned his worldly power, and in so doing he sought the surest available protection against the sin of pride. On the other hand, when a man became a hermit, or later on, when a man became a regular canon or a friar, he just as definitively abandoned all of his material wealth, and thereby sought the surest protection against avarice. The theme of the vices underwent a far more pronounced shift in the institutions and ideals of the religious life than in literature or in the visual arts. It is, then, in the advent of the *pauperes Christi* and the waning of the Benedictines that we see the chief expression of the encroachment of avarice on the pre-eminence of pride.

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Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva

ROBERT M. KINGDON

Between 1520 and the end of the sixteenth century a number of Western European governments made significant new provisions for dealing with social problems. Municipal governments took the lead in this wave of welfare reform. Reforms whose wide influence has been particularly well documented are those of the cities of Nuremberg in Germany (1522), Ypres in the Low Countries (1525), and Lyon in France (1531–34).[1] The welfare ordinances of these three cities were published, in several editions and in several languages, and pamphlets were issued further explaining and justifying them. These reforms, moreover, influenced the policies not only of other cities, but also of royal governments. The imperial edict on poor relief in the Low Countries, promulgated in 1531 by the government of Charles V, was based on preliminary study of the municipal reforms of Mons, Ypres, and Audenaerde, and it in turn stimulated the reforms of other cities such as Brussels.[2] The English statute on poor relief, promulgated by the government of Henry VIII in 1536, was based on a draft very likely prepared by the man who translated the Ypres ordinance into English.[3] And

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[1] See, in particular, Otto Winkelmann, "Die Armenordnungen von Nürnberg (1522), Kitzingen (1523), Regensburg (1523) und Ypern (1525)," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 10 (1912–13): 242–80; J. Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres au XVI^e siècle*, in *University of Ghent, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de philosophie et de lettres*, 45th fasc. (Ghent, 1915); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy: The Case of Lyon," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968): 217–75.

[2] See Paul Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme de la bienfaisance publique aux Pays-Bas sous le règne de Charles-Quint," and "La création à Bruxelles de la Suprême Charité," in *Hôpitaux et bienfaisance publique dans les anciens Pays-Bas, des origines à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1965), 118, 149 ff.

[3] The translator was William Marshall, a propagandist of Protestant sympathies who worked for Thomas Cromwell. This is the plausible hypothesis presented by G. R. Elton in "An Early Tudor Poor Law," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 6 (1953–54): 65–66. Elton does not, however, discover close parallels between the Ypres ordinance and the draft act he attributes to Marshall. See also W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959), 84–85.

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the royal edicts and ordinances on poor relief of the French crown from 1543 to 1599 reflect the experience of such reforming municipalities as Paris and Lyon.[4]

Two essential principles characterized almost all of these reforms: laicization and rationalization. Practically every reform law vested most of the control of social welfare in the hands of laymen. In some areas this constituted a dramatic break with the current practice of leaving welfare programs in the hands of the Church, but in more areas it simply marked the culmination of a centuries-long shift in the control of welfare from ecclesiastical to secular hands. Practically every reform also established some sort of new institution to centralize and coordinate welfare. Such new institutions sometimes replaced a network of welfare organizations created over the centuries, but more often they simply controlled, coordinated, and supplemented the activities of already existing institutions.

The spread of this movement for laicized and rationalized welfare reform coincided almost precisely with the spread of the Protestant Reformation. Like the Protestant reformers, it challenged practices and institutions dear to many orthodox Catholics. Its spokesmen, the most prominent of whom was the great Spanish Catholic humanist Juan Luis Vives, were men vitally interested in religious reform. In consequence, many scholars have claimed that welfare reform and the Protestant Reformation were connected. Welfare reforms, however, were not limited to areas that became or were to become Protestant. They were adopted not only in Catholic Ypres and Lyon, in countries where Protestant influences were pervasive and strong, but also in cities of Catholic Italy and Spain where Protestant influences were weak. This complication has led to a good deal of debate among historians and has provoked some lively polemic.[5]

In order to unravel the connections between Protestantism and welfare in the sixteenth century, it should be useful to examine an extreme case, one in which the pressures for both kinds of reform were particularly intense and effective in changing institutions. Geneva is an obvious example. Under the leadership of John Calvin this city developed a most thorough and uncompromising reform in church organization. And with Calvin and his associates as spokesmen, it powerfully encouraged governments all over Europe to make similar changes. This encouragement was not without its effects in many countries, including English-speaking lands, and Geneva became a sort of Protestant Rome. A study of social welfare in Calvin's Geneva should, therefore, provide more than simply another example of how social problems were handled in one relatively small and comparatively backward sixteenth-century city. It should also provide a

[4] Jean Imbert, "L'Eglise et l'Etat face au problème hospitalier au XVI[e] siècle," in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris, 1965) 1: 577–92.

[5] A useful summary of the earlier stages of this exchange can be found in Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 115 ff. For a thoughtful recent contribution to the debate, see Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy."

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model of how early Protestants reformed the administration of social welfare, a model that may have had some influence in the period, and that, in any case, should be useful to modern scholars for purposes of analysis.

A study of social welfare in Calvin's Geneva must focus on a single institution, the Hôpital-Général, or General Hospital. It was much more than a "hospital" in the modern sense of the term. It was rather an all-purpose institution that provided "hospitality" to all sorts of people who were recognized to possess needs that they could not meet with their own resources. It maintained a large building in the center of Geneva that housed several dozen children—most of them orphans or foundlings—and a smaller number of older people who were too old, too sick, or too badly crippled to care for themselves. It distributed bread every week to poor households throughout the country and provided shelter and food every evening to visitors who had just arrived in Geneva and could not pay for their own accommodations.

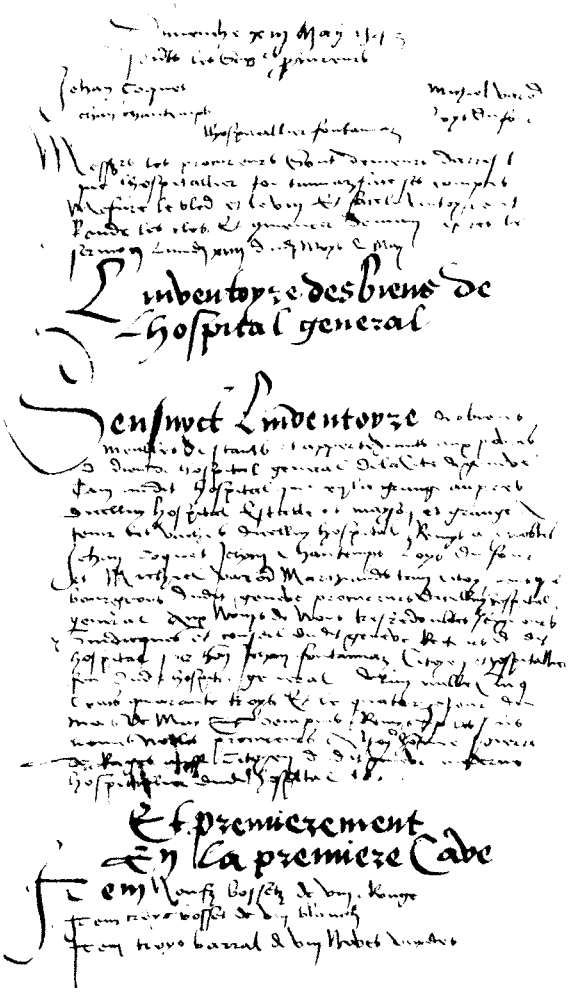
Fortunately a study of this institution is possible. Extensive manuscript records of the operations of the General Hospital of Geneva still survive, particularly for the period after Calvin's definitive return to power in 1541. These records, carefully preserved and beautifully classified in the Geneva State Archives,[6] have been studied by several local historians,[7] but they deserve further study.

The Geneva General Hospital was a creation of the Reformation, but it was not a creation of Calvin. It was established in 1535 in one of the series of measures by which Geneva broke all connections with the Roman Catholic Church and established a Protestant regime. The movement toward social reform and the movement toward Protestantism thus coincide exactly in Geneva. In 1535, however, Calvin had not yet arrived in Geneva. The city was witnessing the culmination of a period of radical ferment stirred by the inflammatory preaching of William Farel. The General Hospital was actually established by the pious laymen who later invited Calvin to Geneva and then protected his Reformation against formidable pressures from many directions. In establishing this new institution, the Gene-

[6] These manuscript records are briefly described by Gustave Vaucher, "Archives hospitalières aux Archives de Genève," in *Mélanges offerts par ses confrères étrangers à Charles Braibant* (Brussels, 1959), 523–29. There is a more detailed manuscript inventory in the Archives d'Etat de Genève (hereafter AEG).

[7] Notably by Léon Gautier and E. Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général de Genève de 1535 à 1545 et l'Hospice Général de 1869 à 1914* (Geneva, 1914). See also [Jean-Jacques-Louis] Odier-Cazenove, *L'Hôpital de Genève, depuis son origine jusqu'en 1842: recherches historiques* (Geneva, 1862), a study largely of the management of the Hospital's financial resources, containing several petty errors and lacunae; and Alice Denzler, *Jugendfürsorge in der alten Eidgenossenschaft: ihre Entwicklung in den Kantonen Zürich, Luzern, Freiburg, St. Gallen und Genf bis 1798* (Zurich, 1925), a study of the care of children by the Hospital and similar institutions in other Swiss cities.

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A page from the Archives Hospitalières, Aa1 (1542–50), fol. 48v. Courtesy Archives d'Etat de Genève.

van community endorsed the two principles that had characterized the movement for welfare reform since 1522: rationalization and laicization. The General Hospital replaced a number of different and competing earlier institutions with a single, rationally organized institution, and the direction of this institution was entrusted entirely to laymen drawn from the group of relatively prosperous merchants who ruled the city-state. Both principles of organization were innovations in Genevan practice and merit further analysis.

Trends toward rationalization and laicization of the administration of social welfare can be discerned in Geneva before the Reformation. In 1535 there were at least eight institutions devoted primarily to coping with social problems in the city. Seven of them were called "hospitals," while the eighth was named Pyssis Omnium Animarum Purgatorii, or Box for All

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Souls in Purgatory.[8] We know nothing about the establishment of the hospital that was evidently created first, but we do know that all the rest were founded and maintained primarily by the gifts or legacies of wealthy individuals, who were anxious to provide both for the welfare of the poor and the repose of their own souls. Control of these hospitals was vested in different bodies. The one apparently founded earliest, before 1288 and probably before 1269, was supervised by the Geneva cathedral chapter. Another was founded in the fourteenth century by the convent of Great Saint Bernard;[9] two were founded by the city government; one by a lay confraternity; one by the founder's heirs; and one either by a lay confraternity or by trustees of some sort—the record is unclear. Actual administration of each hospital was in the hands of a rector, or *procureur,* named by the governing body. In five of the hospitals the *procureur* seems usually to have been a secular priest who saw to it that mass was regularly said in a chapel attached to the hospital and who administered the hospital's property. In the hospital controlled by the lay confraternity the elected lay prior assumed the functions of the *procureur.* In the remaining hospital, members of the city council assumed those functions.[10] Both of these hospitals directed by laymen arranged for the priests of nearby chapels to minister to the spiritual needs of their inmates. Each *procureur* was usually assisted by a *hospitallier*—a man, woman, or couple—who supervised the actual care of the poor. The *hospitalliers* seem to have been invariably selected and supervised by the city councils and seem also invariably to have been laymen.

It is significant that the two hospitals with lay rectors were, in 1434 and 1452, the last to be created before the Reformation, thus revealing a pronounced trend toward laicization in the mid-fifteenth century. A step toward community-wide, rational direction of these institutions had also been taken with the creation by 1452 of the Box for All Souls in Purgatory. This was a municipal foundation probably established, as its name suggests, to collect money to pay for the saying of masses for the souls of all Genevans in purgatory. But it quickly became an institution concerned primarily with social problems. It controlled two of the hospitals for the city, provided funds for another, and even helped support a fourth hospital in a suburban village outside the city of Geneva. It also provided services supplied by no other institutions: placing foundling children in private homes

[8] For an extended analysis of each of these institutions, see J.-J. Chaponnière and L. Sordet, "Des hôpitaux de Genève avant la Réformation," *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève,* 3 (1844): 165–471. This study also covers certain related institutions not located within the city itself, notably the pestilential hospital built for Genevans suffering from contagious diseases.

[9] Respectively, the Hôpital de Nôtre-Dame du Pont and the Hôpital Saint-Bernard, founded before 1376. See *ibid.,* 178–207, 239–47.

[10] Respectively, the Hôpital de l'Eucharistie ou des Pauvres Honteux, by far the best endowed of the seven hospitals, and the Hôpital de la Magdeleine, de Saint-Antoine et de Saint-Sébastien. See *ibid.,* 247–70.

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and paying for their support and arranging for burial of the poor. In order to support all these activities, the Box collected money and invested surplus funds. The institution was administered by a board of *procureurs*, who, elected by the city government, were apparently all laymen.[11]

The most decisive steps toward laicization and rationalization, however, were taken during the Reformation. Some step of some kind had to be taken at that particular time. Lay confraternities and institutions concerned with purgatory had been discredited by the new theology. All the priests who administered five of the hospitals apparently left Geneva, no doubt partly—as the city councilors had charged—to make off with some of the property that had been in their custody,[12] no doubt also to escape the continuing abuse and physical assaults to which many priests had been subjected, and finally because they strongly disapproved of the religious changes being adopted by the city. Meanwhile, during these same months, the social problems to which these hospitals ministered had almost certainly grown more acute as Geneva fought off armed raids into her hinterland and braced herself for an actual siege from neighboring powers hostile to the Reformation. Something had to be done. The city councils decided to take the drastic step of consolidating all these services. All seven hospitals and the Box for All Souls were abolished. The properties of these institutions were turned over to a new General Hospital. Other properties were also allocated to the support of the new institution, most of them properties confiscated from churches, convents, and confraternities, which had earlier been earmarked for pious uses. They were now turned over, so say the council registers, to "this, the most pious of all uses."[13] One of the most substantial of these new properties was the former convent of Sainte-Claire, a large building that became the headquarters of the new General Hospital. The orphans and other poor people supported completely by the city were housed and fed in its rooms; the loaves of bread granted weekly to the deserving poor who remained in their own homes were doled out from its doors; the cows, work horses, and field equipment belonging to the Hospital were lodged in its stables.

The direction of the General Hospital was turned over entirely to laymen. A full-time *hospitallier* was hired. He was required to move into the headquarters building with his family,[14] and the free room and board

[11] *Ibid.*, 341–60.

[12] This charge was made in the text of the act by which the General Hospital was established, November 14, 1535. For copies of this act, see Emile Rivoire, Victor van Berchem, and Frédéric Gardy, eds., *Registres du Conseil de Genève* (Geneva, 1900–40), 13: 351–52; Emile Rivoire and Victor van Berchem, *Les sources du droit du canton de Genève* (Aarau, 1927–35), 2: 302–04; and Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général*, 12–14.

[13] Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, 13: 352; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit*, 2: 303; Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général*, 13.

[14] A detailed set of regulations defining the position was adopted May 12, 1553, at the time Jullian Boccard was named *hospitallier*. It is published in Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit*, 3: 13–16, based on AEG, Pièces historiques (hereafter PH) no. 1533. Another manuscript copy can be found in AEG, Archives hospitalières (hereafter Arch. hosp.) Aa2, insert between fols. 39 and 40.

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that this arrangement provided the *hospitallier* made the position an attractive one.[15] A number of assistants and servants worked under the direction of the *hospitallier*—one, normally a barber-surgeon, was charged with providing medical care to the poor; another, usually a theology student preparing for ordination as a pastor, was charged with educating the children in the Hospital.[16] The *hospitallier* was in turn responsible to a board of *procureurs*. The principles governing the choice of these *procureurs* and regulating their activities seem to have developed rather casually during the first few years following the establishment of the Reformation. This is at least suggested by the fact that references to them in the municipal records of the period are occasional and brief, and no regular records of their deliberations have survived. By the time Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541 to take full charge of the ecclesiastical establishment, however, the role of the *procureurs* seems to have been fixed. Perhaps it was fixed by some of the reforms that accompanied his return, but this cannot be demonstrated, at least not yet. From 1542 on we have quite detailed records of the deliberations of these *procureurs*[17] and fuller information on how they were selected.

After 1541 these men were chosen in precisely the same way as most other officials of the Genevan Republic. Every February, at the time of the general municipal elections, the retiring small council, the institution that possessed real sovereign power in Geneva, nominated a slate of four or five *procureurs* for the Hospital. This slate normally included two men who would be sitting on the incoming small council and two men who were members of the less important council of sixty and council of two hundred. The slate of nominees, often headed by one of the four syndics who were to be reigning magistrates in the city for the coming year, was then presented to the council of two hundred and to the general council of all citizens for election. These elections were generally pure formalities, however; the real choice was obviously made by the twenty-five members of the ruling small council. The *procureurs* of the Hospital were eligible for re-election and were often, in fact, re-elected, even for several years in a row.

The *procureurs* of the Hospital thus came to constitute a kind of standing committee or department of the city government and were fully equivalent, legally and constitutionally, to the standing committees that supervised the city's accounts, served as courts for adjudicating civil and criminal

[15] Among the men who agreed to take on the office during Calvin's lifetime were at least three who also served the city as syndics: Anthoine Chicand, 1540–41; Pierre Jean Jesse, 1550–53; Pernet des Fosses, 1560–61. Other *hospitalliers,* such as Jean Collondaz, 1557–60, and Pierre Sommaretta, 1560, rose to positions on the small council. Several of these men were elderly at the time of appointment and may have looked on the position as a step toward retirement.

[16] A detailed set of regulations on the entire operation of the General Hospital was adopted on March 10, 1552. Duplicate copies can be found in AEG, PH no. 1507 and Arch hosp., Aa2, fols. 1v.–6. Article 35 provides for the appointment of a surgeon; article 38 for the appointment of a teacher.

[17] AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa1, 1542–50; Aa2, 1552–57, 1558–60; Aa3, 1562–63.

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cases, and oversaw the city's defenses. The *procureurs* were also fully equivalent to the elders of the consistory, that special court for the supervision of Genevan beliefs and morals that was Calvin's pride and joy and easily the most controversial institution created by the Calvinist Reformation. This fixed constitutional position was not achieved immediately by the *procureurs*, however. The first year in which I find evidence that they were elected in the regular February elections is 1541.[18] Only from 1544 on did the election of hospital *procureurs* become a regular feature of these annual elections, and even then it was not one of the more prominent elections.[19] In fact, in February 1547 the city councils forgot to elect Hospital *procureurs* and had to be reminded in April that something needed to be done.[20] Only from 1552 on did it become customary to choose a syndic as the presiding officer of the Hospital *procureurs*, and even then this did not become an invariable rule. From 1548 on, the selection of the *hospitallier* was ratified at the same time that the *procureurs* were elected. One can generalize by concluding that by 1550 it became an accepted fact of Genevan political life that members of the city's power structure, men from the small group of merchant families who controlled the city, were prepared to take regular turns in personally supervising the single institution that cared for all the city's poor.

This willingness to serve the poor becomes a bit surprising when one discovers just what these *procureurs* of the Hospital had to do. Their most persistent obligation was to attend a weekly meeting on Sunday mornings at 6:00 A.M., before the sermon. In this session the *procureurs* heard the *hospitallier*'s report on his work for the week, decided on every proposal he made for special expenditures, and made a decision on every single request from every poor family applying for a weekly ration of bread.[21] This last burden was lightened a bit when it became customary for each of the city's *dizainiers* to screen the requests from the poor in his own *dizaine*. The *dizainiers* were city officials in charge of the subunits into which the city was divided for purposes of defense, and consequently they were in a good position to judge the real needs of the poor families in their own neighborhoods. But the final decision on each grant of bread remained in the hands of the *procureurs*.

The *procureurs* also had many special duties. They were responsible for the care of all the considerable properties allocated to the Hospital. This meant arranging for the cultivation, either by work crews supervised by the *hospitallier* or by lessees, of all of the widely scattered fields and vineyards belonging to the Hospital.[22] It meant collecting rents from lessees of agri-

[18] AEG, Registres du Conseil (hereafter RC), vol. 35, fol. 64v., Feb. 9, 1541.

[19] Recorded every year in AEG, RC, on date.

[20] AEG, RC, vol. 42, fol. 75v., Apr. 4, 1547.

[21] The *procureurs*' obligations are outlined in some detail in the set of regulations adopted in 1552, described in note 16 above. They are illustrated in copious detail in the registers described in note 17 above.

[22] For a list of these properties as of 1542, see Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général*, 37–40.

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cultural property and of town houses and loaning cash funds belonging to the Hospital that were not needed immediately.[23] The *procureurs* also had to approve a great variety of legal instruments and contracts. They had to secure approval of legacies bequeathing property to the Hospital, sometimes over the strenuous legal opposition of family heirs.[24] They had to arrange for contracts of apprenticeship, establishing the conditions under which boys in the care of the Hospital were apprenticed out to master craftsmen to learn trades,[25] and they had to approve and finance marriage contracts, setting up the dowries that made it possible for girls in the care of the Hospital to marry.[26] They also were required to represent the interests of the Hospital before the small council, to recommend new appointments of staff members, and to draft new regulations. Above all they had to beg, repeatedly, for supplementary grants of cash to finance adequately all the social programs sponsored by the Hospital.[27]

These obligations, furthermore, were not the only ones the *procureurs* of the Geneva Hospital had to meet. They were all very busy men. Most were merchants with businesses to direct and families to support, and as members of the city's ruling elite they had other governmental obligations. Those on the small council had to attend the almost daily meetings of that body. Many of the *procureurs* were also elected to other standing committees of the city government. From one to three of them, for example, were usually members of the consistory and were therefore obliged to attend that body's weekly meetings and to join in the often venomous tongue-lashings of assorted suspected fornicators, wife-beaters, idolators, and heretics, which constituted the consistory's main activity.

Further reflection on these duties of the Geneva Hospital's *procureurs*, however, suggests rather concrete reasons why, after an initial period of difficulty, it became quite easy to persuade members of the city's power elite to take on these chores. The *procureurs*' management of large amounts of property belonging to the Hospital no doubt brought them information of considerable value to shrewd businessmen. I am not suggesting corruption, for I found no evidence of any.[28] I am merely suggesting that the knowledge of opportunities for good investments and other business deals that came to the *procureurs* as a matter of course may have occasionally proved personally useful to them. Their control of every government ra-

[23] Copies of two loan agreements can be found in AEG, Arch. hosp., P, liasse 27, no. 563.

[24] Records of two such legal proceedings can be found in *ibid.*, liasse 56, nos. 1218, 1219.

[25] Copies of apprenticeship contracts were often inserted into the registers of the *procureurs*' deliberations. See, for example, AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa1, fols. 26–29, May–July 1542; and Aa3, fols. 120v., 123v., July 1563.

[26] See, for example, copies of such contracts in AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa3, fols. 7, Apr. 1562; 86v., Mar. 1563; and 100v., Apr. 1563.

[27] AEG, RC, *passim*.

[28] In 1545 the *procureurs* were accused by the city treasurer of mismanaging the Hospital's funds and grain supply, but the accusation was never proved. See E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York, 1967), 139; and Jean-François Bergier, "La démission du trésorier Amblard Corne," in *Mélanges offerts à Paul-E. Martin* (Geneva, 1961), 456–57, 461–62.

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tion of food to every poor family in the city must also have given them considerable political leverage. Although the city's form of government was basically oligarchic, there remained some democratic elements in it. When it came time in the annual elections for all citizens to vote for certain offices in which they could exercise a limited choice—in the election of syndics, for example—a man who had been Hospital *procureur* no doubt had certain advantages over some of his opponents.

It would be possible to demonstrate with considerable exactness the degree to which the *procureurs* of the Hospital were integrated into the ruling class of Geneva, for the Genevan constitution was extremely precise and extremely hierarchical. The surviving records make it quite simple to reconstitute the membership of the interlocking councils that ruled the city and of the standing committees that actually administered that rule, year after year, particularly after the stability following Calvin's return to power in 1541 led to better record keeping. One could establish very precise correlations among memberships in all of these bodies and record the changes over a period of time in these correlations. This work might require the use of statistics, perhaps even of machines, but I doubt that it would prove to be extremely complex, given the small numbers of people involved. Such a study is clearly beyond the scope of this article. Even without it, however, I am reasonably certain that almost all of the *procureurs* of the Hospital were members of Geneva's power elite and that they tended to be more prominent and better entrenched members of that select group as the Reformation regime became consolidated.

Nothing has been said so far about the role of Calvin and other pastors of the Reformed Church in Geneva in the foundation and operation of the General Hospital for the very good reason that there is practically no evidence in any of the voluminous manuscript records of the Hospital that the pastors were involved in its operation in any significant way. One occasionally finds a notice that Calvin or some other pastor had referred a poor man to a *procureur* for consideration for help,[29] but even a notice of this sort is very rare. And one occasionally finds a reference to a request from one of the pastors to borrow equipment from the Hospital—some horses and a wagon, for example[30]—but requests of this sort are even more rare and invariably trivial.

Calvin does, to be sure, occasionally mention the *hospitalliers* and the Hospital *procureurs* in his own writings, most notably in the ecclesiastical ordinances, which he drafted for the city of Geneva in 1541 shortly after his triumphal return from Strasbourg as a constitution for the Reformed

[29] See, for example, Calvin to *procureur* Michel Varro, 1542, in Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss, eds., *Calvini Opera* (Brunswick, 1863–1900), 11: 482.

[30] See, for example, the request of Pastor de la Faverge, AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa3, fol. 74, Jan. 27, 1563.

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Church he was to direct. These ecclesiastical ordinances distinguish four types of ministry within the Church, the fourth being that of the deacons. Calvin further distinguished two types of deacons: those who gather alms for the poor and those who distribute these alms. The *procureurs* of the Hospital filled the first of these functions in Geneva, the *hospitallier* the second. Calvin's ordinances then laid down the method of selection of the *procureurs,* fixed the number of deacons at four *procureurs* and one *hospitallier,* and provided for periodic review of their activity by the pastors and elders of the Church.[31]

Calvin, furthermore, develops principles pertaining to deacons in a number of his writings. There are passages in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* devoted to the diaconate,[32] and additional comments in some of his other writings, notably in certain of his New Testament commentaries,[33] that help to fill out our knowledge of his views. These statements demonstrate that Calvin felt the diaconate should be a lay ministry devoted solely to aiding the poor. This seemed to him to be the clear sense of the key texts in the Pauline epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles that describe the beginnings of this institution. Calvin frequently coupled his definitions of the diaconate with characteristically vigorous attacks on the Roman Catholic Church for corrupting the institution in its typical way—by making deacons into apprentice-priests and giving them sacramental as well as charitable duties, thus distracting them and the Church from the proper fulfillment of its charitable obligations to society. In developing his definition of the diaconate, Calvin made it quite clear that he believed the key Biblical proof texts revealed that God intended the Church to establish two kinds of deacons: those who would collect alms for the poor and those who would use these alms in helping the poor. It seems quite probable to me that Calvin was thinking of the Genevan arrangement when he developed this distinction. In one of his sermons on 1 Timothy he even uses Genevan language, defining the deacons as "*hospitalliers* and *procureurs* of the poor."[34]

It should be noted that most of these passages were written later in Calvin's career, in the later editions of the *Institutes* and the commentaries, after he had established himself definitively in Geneva and after the Geneva General Hospital had been operating smoothly for many years. I see no evidence that Calvin's arguments had any effect on the creation of this particular Genevan institution. I think, in fact, that there may be some truth

[31] For published copies of the relevant parts of these ordinances see Robert M. Kingdon and Jean-François Bergier, eds., *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin* (Geneva, 1962—), 1: 7–8; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 2: 383–85; and *Calvini Opera,* 10a: 23–25.

[32] Particularly 4.3.9, also 4.4.5, 4.5.15, 4.19.22, 4.19.32, of the 1559–60 editions.

[33] See, for example, the commentary on Philippians (*Calvini Opera,* 52: 7–8); on 1 Timothy (*ibid.,* 53: 289–94, 301–03); on Acts of the Apostles (*ibid.,* 48: 122); and 1 Corinthians (*ibid.,* 49: 507).

[34] *Ibid.,* 53: 291.

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in the reverse proposition: that when it came to deciding how the Christian community should institutionalize its obligation to help the poor, it was not Calvin who influenced Geneva, but rather Geneva that influenced Calvin.[35]

As for Calvin's role in the later development of the General Hospital, I suspect it was profound but extremely indirect. While he did not in any sense create or direct this institution, he did consecrate it. By making the *procureurs* and *hospitalliers* into deacons he made them into lay ministers of the Christian Church, different in function but not in dignity from the ordained clergy. He presented a warrant for this definition, furthermore, from the Word of God, from the Bible. This consecration of the office may well have had a powerful effect on the members of Geneva's ruling elite. It may well provide yet another explanation for the willingness of a good number of them to take on the chores associated with running the Hospital.

The preceding may seem to provide support for an argument that has found much favor in recent years particularly among conservative churchmen and scholars, an argument that holds that Calvin never entered directly into the political arena, that his energies were concentrated entirely upon preaching the Word of God, and that this constitutes a model that modern pastors would do well to emulate. One can certainly find powerful evidence for this argument in studying the relations between the first Calvinist pastors and the General Hospital, the one institution charged by the Genevan community with meeting all the internal social problems it had to face. This conclusion, however, is not one that really satisfies me. To understand fully the relations between Calvin and the General Hospital in Geneva, one needs to place them in context by looking also at the relations between Calvin and other Genevan institutions. One rather instructive comparison can be gained by examining Calvin's relations with the consistory. This ecclesiastical court was composed partly of elected lay elders who were chosen every February in the same way that the Hospital *procureurs* were chosen. Consequently the consistory could be regarded as yet another standing committee of the Genevan municipal government. But it also included the ordained preachers of the Genevan Church. These preachers, led by Calvin, certainly exercised their right to attend consistory meetings. Calvin was almost always in attendance himself, except when illness or travel kept him away. And he was often one of the most active members, administering the scoldings that were stock punishment with a polemical skill that reduced most of those accused of incorrect belief or immoral behavior to tears and repentance but provoked a few to outright rebellion.

Calvin insisted, furthermore, on a voice in the selection of the lay elders

[35] See also the similar conclusion of J. K. S. Reid, in his "Diakonia in the Thought of Calvin," in James I. McCord and T. H. L. Parker, eds., *Service in Christ: Essays Presented to Karl Barth on His 80th Birthday* (London, 1966), 106.

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who sat on the consistory. To do this he had to intervene in the Genevan elections, and he did not hesitate to do so. Every February, at the meetings for the annual elections, Calvin was invited to open the ceremonies with prayer. Under the general rules of election, since he was never a voting citizen of Geneva, this might have ended his participation in these meetings. But there were special rules governing the election of elders contained in the ecclesiastical ordinances that Calvin had drafted for the city. These rules provided that the small council, when it drew up its slate of nominees for elders every year, should consult with the city's pastors. They also provided that the elders should normally be re-elected every year, but that such re-elections should be subject to annual review.[36] If an elder's performance was judged satisfactory, he could be re-elected; if not, he was replaced. These provisions gave Calvin extensive rights in the election of elders, rights both to be consulted about, and, in effect, to veto, nominations. It may have taken him some time to make good these rights; the election records are not as precise as they might be on this point. It is clear, however, that "the ministers" were consulted on the selection of elders in 1546 and 1547; that "the ministers . . . through their spokesman, M. Calvin" were consulted in 1552; that Calvin, again representing the entire corps of pastors, was consulted in 1556, 1557, and 1558; that two other pastors reported on the wishes of the company in 1559; and that from 1560 on, the entire company of pastors was invited to the council session at which the year's slate of elders was drawn up.[37] The innovation of 1560 was adopted at the request of Calvin and Pierre Viret.[38] At the same time these two accomplished yet another breakthrough in the selection of elders by persuading the council to nominate a few elders who were not native-born citizens of Geneva but immigrants. The first of these was the Marquis Galeazzo Carracciolo, a prominent Italian convert to Calvinism. This not only marked a rather significant departure from the fixed Genevan constitutional rule that the city offices be limited to native-born citizens; it also increased Calvin's power and maneuverability since many of the immigrants were among his most zealous supporters.

There is no evidence that during all these years Calvin and the other pastors took any similar interest in the annual election of deacons. This was not for lack of legal warrant, since the ecclesiastical ordinances provided that deacons be elected in the same way as elders. But in spite of these provisions, and in spite of the fact that the deacons were technically min-

[36] Kingdon and Bergier, *Registres de la Campagnie des Pasteurs,* 1: 7; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 2: 383; *Calvini Opera,* 10a: 22–23.

[37] AEG, RC, vol. 41, fol. 9, Feb. 8, 1546; vol. 42, fol. 17v., Feb. 11, 1547; vol. 46, fol. 151v., Feb. 11, 1552; vol. 51, fols. 7–7v., Feb. 12, 1556; vol. 53, fol. 7v., Feb. 11, 1557; vol. 54, fol. 77, Feb. 8, 1558; vol. 55, fol. 4v., Feb. 9, 1559; vol. 56, fol. 4v., Feb. 8, 1560; vol. 56, fol. 147, Feb. 13, 1561; vol. 57, fol. 5, Feb. 12, 1562; vol. 58, fol. 5, Feb. 11, 1563; vol. 59, fol. 3v., Feb. 10, 1564.

[38] For the request, see *Calvini Opera,* 21: 726–27, Jan. 30, 1560; for the edict granting the request, see *ibid.,* 727–28, Feb. 1, 1560. For the record of the election itself, see AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 4v., Feb. 8, 1560.

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isters of the Church, they still seem to have been elected in the same way as the supervisors of the fortresses and the members of the chamber of accounts. Not until 1562 do the annual election records reveal any change in this procedure. In that year the pastors finally intervened openly in the election of deacons, but there is no evidence that Calvin himself was involved in this intervention. In 1560 he and Viret had persuaded the council to consult on elections with the pastors as a body rather than allow Calvin to act as their representative.[39] As he became increasingly distracted by developments in his native France and by problems with his own health, Calvin tended to allow his colleagues to take his place in dealings with the city councils.

In 1562, then, the record reveals that the pastors appeared in a body before the small council to protest that the ecclesiastical ordinances were not being strictly observed in the election of the Hospital *procureurs*. Taking this protest into account, the small council then proceeded to review the performance of the incumbent *procureurs* before proceeding to the election of new ones.[40] A similar review in consultation with the pastors preceded the elections of 1563 and 1564, the last years of Calvin's life.[41] This clerical intervention in the selection of deacons had one very visible, practical result; it meant that more of the same men tended to get elected to both the consistory and the group administering the Hospital. In each of the yearly elections before 1562, from one to three out of the total four or five *procureurs* were also elected elders. Only in 1556 were more than one-third of the total number of deacons also elders. After the 1562 intervention three of the four *procureurs* were elders, constituting a clear majority. The pastors had succeeded in consolidating a power elite of lay supporters; a small group of laymen completely devoted to the pastors held almost all the lay offices in the Church.

It may still be argued that Calvin intervened in politics only when he felt that matters of belief were at stake, that he tried to control elections to the consistory because it controlled religious belief in Geneva, but that he kept hands off the General Hospital because it only ministered to men's bodies. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Calvin took no interest in problems of social welfare. This can best be demonstrated by looking at the history of yet another institution created in Geneva during the Refor-

[39] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 726–27; AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 4v.

[40] AEG, RC, vol. 57, fol. 5v., Feb. 12, 1562. The specific protest by the pastors was that the council had been ignoring the ecclesiastical ordinances by selecting five *procureurs* rather than four, the number specified by the ordinances. A precedent for consultation with the pastors in the selection of a deacon had been established in 1561. When Pernet des Fosses resigned as *hospitallier*, the small council voted to consult the pastors about his replacement. AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 196v., May 29, 1561. Perhaps even earlier precedents could be found in pastors' appeals to the small council to name or replace a *hospitallier*, beginning with Farel's plea, shortly after Claude Salomon's death, that a replacement be chosen quickly. Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, 13: 414, Jan. 28, 1536.

[41] AEG, RC, vol. 58, fol. 5, Feb. 11, 1563; vol. 59, fol. 3v., Feb. 10, 1564.

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mation, the Bourse française.[42] One social problem, which the General Hospital was not prepared to handle, was how to help the dozens of poor refugees who were now moving into Geneva from other countries as a result of the spread of the Reformation. The Hospital's programs were intended to meet only the problems of native Genevans and transients planning to spend a single night in Geneva. It was not ready to handle the needs of refugees who wanted to settle in Geneva more or less permanently. This created a considerable gap in the Hospital's coverage that Calvin sought to remedy with the Bourse française, which was essentially a large fund of cash. The money was collected from wealthy French refugees to Geneva—from printers like Robert Estienne, lawyers like Germain Colladon, and businessmen like Laurent de Normandie—and distributed to poor French refugees who because of illness, family problems, or the loss of property at home were having trouble supporting themselves. The Bourse française, unlike the Hospital, was a private institution. It was run by laymen bearing the title of deacons, who were elected by the contributors. These deacons collected the money, doled it out, and kept accounts of both receipts and payments. In these respects the Bourse française was much like the Hospital, but it differed in that it attracted Calvin's interest and powerful personal support from the beginning. In fact he may well have founded it. The accounts reveal that in the earliest years he was almost invariably the most generous single contributor, no doubt drawing from his rather large Geneva salary for this charitable purpose.[43] On at least one occasion the deacons of the Bourse française even met in Calvin's house to elect officers for the coming year.[44]

When one considers this wider context, one must conclude, I feel, that Calvin was neither indifferent to the needs of the poor nor unwilling to enter politics to advance a cause he valued. He simply selected with care the particular arenas in which he deployed his formidable energies. If he did not work hard to resolve Geneva's social problems personally, it was probably because he thought they were already being handled by men of competence whom he trusted. I am led to this conclusion partly by a study of the men who actually became *hospitalliers* and *procureurs* of the Hospital.[45] While one can find among them representatives of almost every shade of Genevan political opinion, the great majority and the most active of them were especially devoted to Calvin's leadership. A few examples will help to illustrate this contention. Among the very first *procureurs* of the General Hospital, who were commissioned first to close down the earlier institutions and then to superintend the new one, the man who was easily the most

[42] The best study of this institution of which I know is Henri Grandjean, "La bourse française de Genève (1550–1849)," in *Etrennes Genevoises, 1927* (Geneva, 1927), 46–60.

[43] AEG, Arch. hosp., Kg12, fol. 1, Oct. 1550; fol. 7, Nov. 1550; fol. 11, Dec. 1550.

[44] *Ibid.*, Kg15, fol. 1, July 1554.

[45] See Robert M. Kingdon, "The Deacons of the Reformed Church in Calvin's Geneva," in *Mélanges d'histoire du XVI^e siècle offerts à Henri Meylan* (Geneva, 1970), 81–90.

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active was Claude Bernard.[46] Bernard was also one of the key lay leaders of the entire early Reformation. He had been converted to Protestantism early, probably by his brother, a former priest. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Farel and even provided Farel and Viret with lodgings in his own house during the period when the preaching of these two firebrands was persuading Geneva to abandon Roman Catholicism. Bernard was involved in many of the specific moves that culminated in the break with Rome, and he supported Farel and Calvin strongly when they were established as the principal pastors of the new Reformed Church.[47]

The most active *procureur* of the Hospital in the next few years was Jean Chautemps. Like Bernard, he was also one of the first to renounce Roman Catholicism, having been converted to Protestantism by Farel. He had helped to engineer the break with Rome and supported Farel and Calvin against local opposition. As one of the group who arranged for Calvin's return in 1541,[48] he rose to political power and became a member of the small council in 1542. Throughout the bitter internal controversies that followed he continued to support Calvin.[49]

The leading *procureur* of the Hospital in Calvin's last years was Guillaume Chicand. He had been a particularly active lay member of the consistory since 1546, working closely with Calvin.[50] He vigorously supported Calvin against his last local enemies, the Perrinists, in 1555. Soon thereafter he won positions of considerable political power, joining the small council in 1556 and becoming syndic in 1557.[51] With men like these running the Hospital, Calvin hardly needed to intervene directly in its operations.

A final evaluation of the Geneva General Hospital should attempt to judge its success. I have not studied this problem in any detail, but the evidence that has come to my attention suggests that it suffered considerable growing pains until about 1547[52] and was a considerable success from then on in meeting the social problems faced by the Genevan community. There were, to be sure, occasional complaints about its operation. In 1584, for example, the city's pastors demanded a thorough investigation of the Hospital and suggested a number of reforms in its administration.[53] But complaints of this sort never, in fact, led to a major change in the institution.

[46] See the repeated references to Bernard's appeals for the Hospital in Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, 13: *passim*.

[47] AEG, MSS, Louis Sordet, "Dictionnaire des familles genevoises," 1: 92–93; *Calvini Opera*, 21: 224–25, Apr. 20, 1538.

[48] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 282, Sept. 9, 1541.

[49] AEG, Sordet, "Dictionnaire," 1: 243.

[50] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 400, Mar. 21, 1547; 402, Apr. 15, 1547; 527, Nov. 15, 1552. AEG, Registres du Consistoire, *passim*.

[51] AEG, Sordet, "Dictionnaire," 1: 255.

[52] Repeated complaints from Calvin and the other pastors about the operations of the Hospital in 1547 led to a general review by the small council and the selection of new *procureurs* for 1548. *Calvini Opera*, 21: 404–05, May 24, 1547; 414, Sept. 26, 1547; AEG, RC, vol. 42, fol. 354, Nov. 28, 1547. For the elections, see RC, vol. 43, fol. 13v., Feb. 7, 1548.

[53] Monter, *Calvin's Geneva*, 220.

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A final evaluation of the Geneva General Hospital should also attempt to judge its uniqueness and influence. This would require extensive comparative studies. A preliminary survey of published studies of welfare reform in other cities, however, already suggests to me the conclusion that the Genevan reforms were different not in kind but in degree from those of most other contemporary municipalities. They were more thorough, more radical in their break with the past. It was probably Geneva's uncompromising brand of Protestantism that made this radicalism possible.

In many contemporary cities enlightened laymen took the lead in engineering welfare reforms. Their actions were often provoked by famine in the area around their city, famine that was particularly reflected by a sharp increase in begging as starving peasants from the hinterland came into relatively better-supplied cities in a last desperate attempt to stay alive. The welfare reforms in Lyon and Venice, for example, can be related directly to famines in the immediately preceding years.[54] But the lay reformers' actions were also stimulated by altruism, as they sought to do something in a practical way to resolve problems the existing social institutions could no longer handle. The councilors of Geneva were thus following a pattern established elsewhere when they assumed the sole right to organize and direct charity in their city.

The Genevans did not, however, have to face the opposition to reform that the lay leaders of other cities did, opposition that came mostly from the orthodox Catholic clergy. The mendicant orders protested particularly vehemently since attempts to outlaw begging and substitute secular, institutionalized charity threatened their very existence. But opposition also came from bishops, particularly after the Council of Trent later in the century vested all supervisory powers over charitable institutions in the hands of bishops. Thus the burghers of Catholic Ypres had to face attacks from members of the mendicant orders who complained that their welfare reforms smacked of heresy and Lutheranism. The burghers were able to limit such attacks only by an appeal to that bastion of Catholic orthodoxy, the theological faculty of the University of Paris, which gave conditional approval to their reform.[55] And the welfare reformers of Lyon had to face the indifference of the archbishop and the outright hostility of the local inquisitor, who again smelled heresy in their proposals.[56] In Geneva this block to change did not exist. The Catholic clergy and many of its supporters had been expelled from the city before welfare reform was adopted. Their Protestant successors, as we have seen, warmly supported the changes.

[54] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 228–29; Brian Pullan, "The Famine in Venice and the New Poor Law, 1527–1529," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, 5–6 (1963–64): 141–202.

[55] Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres*, xlviii–lx.

[56] For the indifference of the absentee archbishop and the inquisitor's attack, see Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 236, 238, 259–62.

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This is not to say that the welfare reformers were invariably Protestant. Sometimes they were and sometimes they were not. There was occasionally some fire behind the smoke of their opponents' accusations, but not always. Welfare reform in the German cities seems often to have developed as it did in Geneva. It was the work of Protestant sympathizers active in a city government at a time before that government had actually committed itself to the Lutheran form of Protestantism, which came to prevail in most of Germany. This seems to have been the case at least in Nuremberg. There welfare reform was enacted in 1522 by a city council that included many humanists of Lutheran sympathies and whose clerk was Lazarus Spengler, a particularly devoted follower of Luther. And welfare reform in Nuremberg became effective partly because it was supported by the provosts of the two parish churches, whose Lutheran sympathies were reflected most strikingly in their choice of Lutheran preachers for their pulpits in these same years.[57] This may also have been the case in Strasbourg. There the welfare reforms were adopted in 1523 and 1524 on the basis of recommendations made late in 1522 by a committee of laymen, two of whom were known for their Lutheran sympathies. These recommendations had been drafted at a time when the community was obviously moving in a Protestant direction, before Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito, and Matthias Zell, the three reformers who really made the city Protestant, began to preach in the city.[58]

It seems plausible that these German models influenced the development of welfare reform in other countries. One cannot prove direct influence, however, partly because so many of these other countries remained Catholic and hence would deny or disguise influence that might be labeled Lutheran. The welfare reformers in the Netherlands, for example, acknowledged no German inspiration. Yet the reforms in that country followed so closely on the reforms in Germany, and resemble the German measures so much, that it seems at least possible that the Netherlanders modeled themselves after the Germans. In particular the seminal reforms in Mons and Ypres, adopted in 1525, resemble the Strasbourg reforms of 1523–24.[59] We know that the Strasbourg reform excited the admiration of at least one prominent Dutch humanist in 1526.[60] There were no doubt others like him. Similarly, the re-

[57] See Harold J. Grimm, "Luther's Contributions to Sixteenth-Century Organization of Poor Relief," to be published in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (1970). Professor Grimm kindly lent me a draft of his article.

[58] Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven, 1967), 275–83. See also Otto Winckelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassburg vor und nach der Reformation bis zum Ausgang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1922).

[59] This was the argument of Otto Winckelmann, developed most fully in his article, "Über die ältesten Armenordnungen der Reformationszeit (1522–1525)," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, 17 (1914–15): 187–228; 361–400. It was carefully evaluated and cautiously endorsed, in a modified form, by Bonenfant in "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 140–43. It was thus supported by two of the most eminent specialists in this field.

[60] This was Gerard Geldenhouwer of the circle of Vives. See his letter of August 21, 1526, in Henry de Vocht, ed., *Literae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522–1528* (Louvain, 1928), 515; noted and quoted by Marcel Bataillon in "J. L. Vives, réformateur de la bienfaisance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 14 (1952): 144.

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forms in Venice, adopted in 1528 and 1529, followed soon after the reforms in Germany. There were extensive commercial relations between Venice and Nuremberg, and in 1505 Nuremberg had copied Venetian wardship laws. It seems at least possible that Venice returned the compliment when economic crisis forced its government to reform her welfare legislation.[61]

It is hard to stretch the chain of German influence directly to Geneva. While Calvin was personally influenced deeply by the ecclesiastical reforms he observed in Strasbourg, he was not responsible, as we have noticed, for the fundamental change in Geneva's welfare program. It seems much more likely that the merchants of Geneva were influenced by the establishment, in 1531–34, of the Aumône-Général in Lyon. Geneva's merchants were in constant commercial contact with Lyon, and the Aumône-Général was founded just before the Geneva General Hospital and exercised many of the same functions.

In some contemporary cities, intellectuals assumed a role in welfare reform similar to Calvin's in Geneva. In other words, rather than initiating change, intellectuals often justified the changes engineered by the practical business leaders of the community. This is most strikingly the case with Juan Luis Vives, whose *De subventione pauperum* was the most eloquent single plea for the reform of poor relief published in the early sixteenth century. But it was published in the Low Countries in 1526, the year after reform had already been adopted in the cities of Mons and Ypres.[62] It may thus be regarded, like Calvin's *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, as more a consecration of reform already under way than an impetus to new reform. There are, however, exceptions to this pattern. The most striking that have come to my attention are the eloquent pleas made in Lyon by two crusading Catholic clergymen, Jean de Vauzelles, a humanist priest and doctor of laws, and Santo Pagnini of Lucca, a humanist Dominican theologian. These men were among the leaders in the campaign for the establishment of the Aumône-Général in Lyon.[63] Only more extensive comparative studies can demonstrate which pattern was the more common.

In few cities, however, were the welfare reforms as radical as in Geneva. While laymen were granted the real power of direction everywhere, a role was often reserved to the clergy. Sometimes it involved only exhorting the people to support the new institutions of charity and calling the attention of the lay authorities to poor individuals deserving assistance, as in Ypres;[64] sometimes it meant actually administering the new charities, as in Venice.[65] Rarely was the management of charity reserved to the laity to the same de-

[61] Pullan, "Famine in Venice," 143–44.

[62] Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 119–23; Bataillon, "J. L. Vives," 141–43.

[63] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 231–36.

[64] Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 122, 125. See also references to articles 10 and 11 of the 1525 ordinance in Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres*, xxx, 23.

[65] Pullan, "Famine in Venice," 173–74.

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gree as in Geneva. Similarly, while all of these cities created new institutions to rationalize the administration of charity, they seldom abolished all of the older ones, as was done in Geneva. Thus the large Mehrere Hospital and other medieval charitable institutions in Strasbourg survived the reforms of 1522–24;[66] three hospitals in Ypres continued to function after the creation of the Bourse commune in 1525;[67] the Hôtel-Dieu, or hospital of Lyon, already under municipal management, survived the creation of the Aumône-Général in 1531–34.[68] The new institution, therefore, often supplemented and coordinated existing programs. Most often it provided external relief to the poor in their homes, a provision frequently linked with the outlawry of begging. Assistance to the poor without homes, which was also provided by the Geneva General Hospital, was often reserved in other cities to hospitals that were medieval foundations.

The greater radicalism of the Genevan reforms may help to explain their greater permanence, for the Geneva General Hospital proved to be a remarkably durable institution. It continued in operation until the late nineteenth century with only one major interruption, which was caused by the French Revolution. In 1869 it was reorganized and converted into a new institution called the Hospice-Général, with headquarters in the same neighborhood as the old General Hospital. The Hospice-Général is still standing and ministering to the problems of the poor in Geneva in ways that have not changed substantially since 1535. It would appear that there are times in history when radical reform, however painful it may seem at the time, proves to be more permanent than moderate reform.

[66] Winckelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassburg*, 122–67.
[67] Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres*, xli-xlii.
[68] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 240–43; Imbert, "L'Eglise et l'Etat," 579–80.

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Gymnastics and Sports in *Fin-de-Siècle* France: Opium of the Classes?

EUGEN WEBER

Despite Huizinga's classic essay, the distance between *homo sapiens* and *homo ludens* seems to grow no smaller. The strange suspicion, or even antipathy, that men of pen and study still show for research in the more vulgar manifestations of physical activity deserves a study in itself. While we await a dissertation on such a promising topic, this disinclination leaves us ill informed on activities that have always taken up a good deal of public attention—not least in the past century.

Grandfather clocks, balloons, and potatoes have benefitted from historical studies that games and sports still lack. Journalists, psychologists, sociologists, and sportsmen themselves have written about sport; historians have paid it only incidental attention. To be specific, no professional historian seems to have traced the cat's cradle of athletic activities rising and spreading in France in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Significantly, Antoine Prost's excellent *Enseignement en France, 1800–1967* (Paris, 1968) ignores the topic, while the 268 pages of Paul Gerbod's *Vie Quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1968) devote nine lines to gymnastics and none to other exercises.

Yet physical exercise and the role that men attribute to it, that society envisages for it, can document times and mentalities as suggestively as can their industrial enterprises; and physical training always begs the question: training for what? The question is answerable, even if the answer remains tentative. After Prussia's defeat at Jena, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's *Turnkunst* trained to withstand the French and, in due course, forge German unity. German gymnasts—*Turner*—were to rediscover the heroic qualities of their race and help create their still virtual nation. In England there was no defeat to avenge, no nation to forge for the future, but there were schoolboys to tame and civilize. Their physical development presented no great problem, but their wild, sometimes brutal play had to be disciplined. After the 1830s this was done by enlisting high spirits in regulated games and by turning poachers into gamekeepers.

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Thus, where physical education on the German model appears as a device to create national or civic sense and to revivify the young, games on the English model first emerged to serve specific ends. The one model addressed itself to the whole nation, the other to a limited educational system. The ideals behind the two approaches sound similar. For Jahn, physical exercise imparted a taste for effort and adventure, taught that the most effective discipline was self-imposed, and developed the moral character of the *Turner* along with his body. For Thomas Hughes, half a century later, games spurred patriotism, a sense of self-reliance, and a tempering of character and body. Both stressed the importance of freedom, of voluntary emulation, and of the pleasure offered by exercise. Both saw their enterprises as harnessing young energies and instincts to social ends. But where the Jahn tradition deliberately turned to service of the nation (and the state), that of English games, stressing character over discipline, team or individual over abstract collectivities, was elitist. Gymnastics lent themselves better to routine and to mass applications, while their social uses appeared more evident. Games were a kind of conspicuous consumption: they evolved in exclusive schools; they were costly in terms of space, time, and facilities and aristocratic in inspiration and implication.

This very rough distinction was recognized in most of nineteenth-century Europe. For example, as the century ended, the Swedish labor movement "would not at first accept the sports movement, which was characterized as 'an invention of the Anglo-Saxon upper class.' "[1] In some countries the distinction remained academic, with one or the other of the two approaches clearly predominant. The Anglo-Saxons paid little heed to physical training, regarded as a poor substitute for livelier organized play.[2] Germans, on the other hand, remained faithful to gymnastics both in and out of school, communicating their enthusiasm for them to neighbors like the Czechs, whose Sokols borrowed both the mass exercises and the patriotic mystique of the *Turner*. And when, at the century's end, young Germans rebelled against the constraints and corruption of society, their thirst for purity and action was stilled less by team sports than by return to nature and to romantically "primitive" sources of regeneration.[3]

The interesting aspect of the history of sports in France is that the competitive presence of physical education and play both stressed and clarified the difference between them and between their advocates. First to appear, physical education was adopted by the state to serve national purposes.

[1] C. G. Andrae, "Popular Movements in Sweden," *Social Science Information*, 8, pt. 1 (1969): 75.

[2] In an article in the February 1884 *Journal of Education*, the author could not understand "that men who know and have tasted the powers and pleasures of play should yet in cold blood drive children into this dead and barren routine." Quoted in P. C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London, 1968), 58. In the United States, John Dewey omitted gymnastics from his curriculum for the excellent reason that "children do not like it."

[3] Interestingly enough, the major exception that confirms the rule appeared in workers' sporting clubs sponsored after the 1880s by the banned Social-Democrats as front organizations that held the faithful together and helped to collect funds.

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Games—here also recognized as Anglo-Saxon upper-class inventions—appeared and remained for a long time the preserve of the privileged few. They provided training, indeed, whether to bear the burdens of privilege or to face the challenge of the unprivileged many; but they also provided play for the game's sake and for the player's satisfaction—gratuitous, self-sufficing, without ulterior purpose.[4] The possibilities of the topic are clearly vaster than the limited area of sporting history. The following pages attempt to furnish some preliminary information on how sports came to France and whom they were meant to serve. These pages are meant to open the subject rather than to cover a vast, unexplored territory. But they may suggest that, far from standing apart, sports were integrated and integrating activities, part of the contemporary scene, reflecting social and ideological preoccupations, and very likely affecting them in turn.[5]

Organized physical activities, which England and Germany had known through the nineteenth century, came to France only late and quite *sui generis*. They came first of all to serve a patriotic purpose that consisted partly in slamming the stable door after the horse had been stolen. And they approached the self-imposed task of national revivification from several directions. Thus, born in 1874, its founders still "under the impact of their patriotic grief," the Club Alpin Français sought to provide "a school of physical energy and moral vigor," training French youth to be "more virile, more apt to bear military life, more prepared to face a long conflict without discouragement. . . ."[6]

Despite relatively high dues that restricted membership to the upper and middle classes, the Club Alpin counted some seven thousand members by the end of the century. But less exalted and less expensive local walking, climbing, and touring clubs subscribed to the same cause. Witness the Société des Marcheurs touristes de France, set up in Bordeaux in 1885. Its end, proclaimed its statutes, was "both patriotic and scientific, since it favors the study of our country and since, at the opportune moment, excellent guides for our armies might be recruited in its ranks."[7]

[4] And thus evocations—wistful or purposive—of passing or menaced values. Thus, Charles Péguy, speaking of work well done and the sense of workmanship for its own sake among the workers of his youth in the 1880s, compares it to the sporting spirit: "Ce que nous nommons aujourd'hui l'honneur du sport, mais en ce temps-là répandu partout. Non seulement l'idée de faire rendre le mieux, mais l'idée, dans le mieux, de faire rendre le plus. Non seulement à qui ferait le mieux, mais à qui en ferait le plus, c'était un beau sport continuel, qui était de toutes les heures, dont la vie même était pénétrée." "L'Argent," in *Oeuvres en Prose, 1909–1914* (Paris, 1957), 1051–52.

[5] For more detailed discussion of these social and ideological aspects see E. Weber, "Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of Sport in France," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5 (1970): 3–26.

[6] Club Alpin Français, presidential address, Apr. 3, 1879, in *Annuaire* (Paris, 1880), not paginated.

[7] Archives départementales (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, unclassified. (Hereafter AD, followed by the name of the French department and the collection.) The name of another walking club, l'Éclair russe, founded at Bordeaux in 1892, commemorated the Franco-Russian Convention that *revanchards* found so encouraging.

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Most specific of all these enterprises, and most clearly directed to premilitary training, were the gymnastic societies founded in great numbers "pour rendre aux français des muscles." Physical training would, and should, contribute to national preparedness. Shooting clubs and gymnastic societies, declared a pamphlet of 1886, were the seedbeds where the young soldiers of the future could be nurtured and trained. "Your societies," Octave Gréard, vice-rector of the Académie de Paris reminded the Association of Gymnastic Societies of the Seine in 1898, "were born, nearly all, under the impact of our disasters . . . all imbued with the same duty."[8]

Everyone knew that Prussian schoolmasters had been the real winners at Sedan and, somehow, Father Jahn's gymnastics seemed easier to imitate than the playing fields of Eton. So, after 1871, rifle clubs, gymnastic societies, and enterprises devoted to premilitary training spread to fulfill their patriotic mission. In Besançon they sported names like La Française, La Patriote, La Vaillante. In 1887 Bordeaux counted ten of them with titles like Patriotes bordelais and Jeunesse patriote de la Gironde, the earliest founded in 1872, the total active membership nearly eighteen hundred.

The great idea inspiring all such clubs, at least in their inception, was that of national unity and *revanche*. Most, however, soon degenerated into semisocial societies open to those who could afford not only their moderate dues, but also the costly costumes they adopted, which consisted as a rule of body-length tights, special trousers and jacket in blue or white, sports shoes, and a yachting cap or some other suitably martial headgear. By the 1880s many who joined such gymnastic societies did so in the hope of losing weight or, more simply, because they provided convenient occasions for members to meet, wives to chat, and children to admire their fathers' prowess. Workingmen might occasionally be offered a separate society of their own, like La Fraternité in Bordeaux; but men who worked, when they worked, eleven or more hours a day for six or seven days a week had little time (or strength) left over for self-imposed exercise.

The champions of national revival soon realized that the campaign for physical development had to begin elsewhere, notably in the schools, where gymnastics could be taught to large numbers of the country's youth. Gymnastics had been talked about well before that time. On August 13, 1793, the Convention had approved a motion of Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau, supported by Robespierre: "During the course of National Education, the children's time shall be divided between study, manual labor, and gymnastic exercises. If the week belongs to labor, it is good and proper that youth should rediscover corporal exercises during the days of rest." One hears of no practical implementation of such unimpeachable sentiments.

The 1830s and 1840s had seen some desultory official gestures toward

[8] Lermusiaux and Tavernier, *Pour la Patrie* (Paris, 1886). Octave Gréard was vice-rector of the Académie de Paris from 1879 to 1902. Antoine Prost called him the "grey eminence" of all successive ministers of public instruction during this period. *L'Enseignement en France, 1800–1967* (Paris, 1968), 224.

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introducing physical training into the curriculum, and the Second Republic actually passed a law on March 14, 1850, placing gymnastics among the optional subjects of primary schools. But these schools lacked the resources, let alone the room, for such activities. Other optional subjects, like drawing and singing, could be taught in the classroom. But games and gymnastics required space and equipment, and most schools had only narrow playgrounds. In the 1880s, as in the 1960s, a good urban primary school in Orléans boasted a yard thirty yards long and twenty-seven yards wide.

In 1853 physical training became a compulsory part of the secondary curriculum, but the new requirement was respected largely in the breach. Of seventy-seven *lycées,* thirteen had no premises available for gymnastics; thirty had some kind of gymnasium, but half of these were useless. Pursuing the principle of *la fuite en avant*, Victor Duruy's decree of February 3, 1869, made gymnastics a required subject in primary schools. But the sunset years of the Second Empire did not see the new measures progress very far. "The urgency and even the utility of gymnastic instruction," noted one local authority, "do not yet seem evident." In the provinces many reacted as skeptically as the Conseil général of the Nièvre, which alleged the diminished respect that children would bear teachers who "engaged in exercises where the dignity of the man associated to the child can suffer cruel failures." Teachers should not be asked to step off their podium onto a playing field where they could be outrun by their charges or splashed with mud.[9]

This spirit began to change after the war. The ministries of war and of public instruction discussed ways and means of avoiding a break in continuity between gymnastic training at school and in the army. A law of January 27, 1880, made gymnastic training compulsory in all public boys' schools: four half-hours of physical training and military exercises every week. "C'est une oeuvre patriotique que nous poursuivons," stressed Jules Ferry's Circular No. 400, March 29, 1881. Despite enduring reserves—as in Bordeaux, where municipal councilors preferred to equip a local school with a workshop rather than a gymnasium[10]—the approval of the *conseils généraux* and a swarm of newborn gymnastic societies seemed to endorse Ferry's assertion.

On July 6, 1882, a presidential decree set up *bataillons scolaires* for military and gymnastic training in all teaching establishments. The civic and patriotic instruction the schools dispensed was to be furthered in premilitary

[9] Paul Gerbod, *La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et les collèges au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1968), 18; AD (Nièvre), Conseil général, Aug. 28, 1869. Compare this with an entry of 1862 in the diary of Edward Thring, the famous headmaster of Uppingham: "I could not help thinking with some pride what headmaster of a great school had ever played a match at football before. Would either dignity or shin suffer for it? I think not." Quoted in David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961), 220.

[10] See Albert Saubeste, *L'École Pélégrin* (Bordeaux, 1912), 215. The governors of the school felt that "[A workshop] would go much farther than any gymnastics course in satisfying the children's need for movement and physical exercise." Besides, "and above all," such a policy would avoid the risks of training "future mechanics, carpenters and masons" for positions above their station. L'École Pélégrin was an *école primare supérieure de garçons.*

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training units that would be its concrete expression. Such *bataillons* would also suit the prevailing taste for military music and display. "C'était l'époque douce où, au dimanches soirs, / La grand'ville éclatait de légères fanfares . . . ," recalled Francis Jammes of that time when, in the 1880s, he had been a student of the Lycée de Bordeaux. But, while Sunday tattoos met with appreciation, the attempt to provide premilitary training was destined to only partial success.

Approved by patriotic Republicans, the initiative identified with the secular and *revanchard* politics of men like Gambetta evoked little enthusiasm in conservative circles. Not only did teachers no longer lead the children to Mass, the Catholics complained, but "thanks to the *bataillons*, to gymnastics, etc., they prevent them from attending Catechism." Besides, argued the ultramontane *Univers*, even if the government taught all Frenchmen arms drill and somersaults, such methods could not forge a military force, let alone a nation. "Corporal-instructors and perfect acrobats" did not an army make.[11]

The sartorial expense involved when the *bataillons* sought to outfit themselves with uniforms,[12] the cost of equipping the little corps with approved rifles, and the difficulty of finding retired soldiers capable of training them discouraged good will. The ragged results were often more evident in the provinces. On May 15, 1883, Senator Jules Steeg wrote the prefect of the Gironde to ask why Bordeaux was so slow in setting up its *bataillons*: "A Paris, c'est une fête lorsque tous les jeudi matins notre jeunesse parcourt les boulevards avec ses clairons et ses tambours: tous se précipitent pour les voir et acclamer." A decade later, in the wake of the Boulanger crisis, the *bataillons* were quietly faded out: "une erreur patriotique," as a sporting enthusiast would describe them in retrospect.[13]

Whether for *bataillons* or for straightforward gymnastic instruction, *moniteurs* and *professeurs* were recruited in haphazard fashion and hired at cut-rate salaries: from 300 to 700 francs a year in *collèges* and 1,200 to 1,800 francs a year in *lycées*. Economically, such men were less well off than contemporary miners (1,300 to 1,500 francs a year) or village postmen (1,100 francs a year); they did not even benefit from the local prestige of village schoolteachers, whose annual salaries after 1905 ran between 1,100 and

[11] *Bulletin de la Société d'Education et d'Enseignement*, Dec. 15, 1883; *L'Univers*, Jan. 27, 1882.

[12] The *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*, July 22, 1882, described the "ensemble commode et élégant" of Paris detachments participating in July 14 festivities that year as dark blue tunic and trousers and a sailor's cap with a red pompom. It was in this uniform that the apprentice soldiers could be admired by readers of illustrated magazines (see *Le Monde Illustré*, May 6, 1882), and in a number of paintings exhibited at the salon of 1885. See also Mona Ozouf, *L'École, l'Église et la République* (Paris, 1963), 126–28.

[13] AD (Gironde), Bataillons scolaires 1881–92; Philippe Tissié, *L'Education physique* (Paris, 1901), 6. In a less convincing version, a witness told the Royal Commission on Physical Training (1903) that the *bataillons* had been abandoned because children learned not only drill "but also habits of spitting and swearing in true barrack-square manner." P. C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London, 1968), 151.

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2,200 francs. Their meager wages had to be supplemented by some other job. Fireman, janitor, shopman, or petty artisan, the *professeur de gymnastique* was obviously the social inferior of his charges. Whether he took this out on them or dazzled them with acrobatic exhibitions, the few hours spent in his company left little impression. Contemporary evidence suggests that most physical training instructors were retired noncommissioned officers, some of whom had attended a three-month course at the army physical training school at Joinville. Almost all lacked any real teaching method, and their dim figures pass unrecorded but for the boredom or the pranks they aroused.[14]

Avarice could mitigate enthusiasm and affect achievement on other fronts as well. One aspect of the physical exertions involved in gymnastics as in sports was the unusual need for washing they created. This raised difficulties in a France where "at least until 1914 people wash practically not at all, they are not in the habit of washing."[15]

At Sceaux, near Paris, Lakanal, which had been designed as the model *lycée* of the Third Republic, could pride itself on facilities that permitted its boarders to enjoy a footbath every week and a shower every month. But this was exceptional, and most *lycées* marched their boarders to a public establishment: once a term at Orléans, once a month at Louis-le-Grand in Paris. Most *externes,* especially outside the capital, were no better provided, since few private homes were equipped with bathrooms. The soiled and sweaty heroes of playing field or gymnasium could present perplexing problems.

Sporting clubs tried to provide showers on the premises for a membership who often lacked such facilities at home. One reason why, in 1889, the Bordeaux Université Club agreed to merge with the Stade Bordelais was that the latter had showers and proper changing rooms. But such luxuries called for means beyond those of most societies and beyond the credits that municipal councils or the ministry of education would make available to the schools. The fact that gymnasiums had to be endowed with showers, therefore, made for greater cleanliness; it also restricted the number of gymnasiums and playgrounds undertaken by public and local authorities. The public health law of February 5, 1902, led to the appearance by about 1908 of departmental public health services concerning themselves with setting up public washplaces and showers. But as late as 1916 the inspector of health services in the Nièvre complained that "no playgrounds exist, no sporting institutions for adolescents, no one thinks of sports . . ."—certainly

[14] For salaries, see *Revue des jeux scolaires et d'hygiène sociale,* Oct. 1908, pp. 142, 144. Raoul Blanchard (*Ma Jeunesse sous l'aile de Péguy* [Paris, 1961], 147) recalls the occasion in 1896 when Charles Muller, the future author of *A la Manière de . . .* , presented the ritual good wishes of the *cagne* of Louis-le-Grand to their gym instructor in a speech ending: *"SURSUM CORDA! Tout le monde en haut des cordages,"* and the instructor's delighted rejoinder: "Bravo! I didn't know that's what it meant." *Si non e vero. . . .*

[15] Guy Thuillier, "Pour une histoire de l'hygiène corporelle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale,* 46 (1968): 233, *passim.*

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not for long, once they became aware of the costs involved. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that, especially in backward regions like the Nièvre, the patriotic efforts of the 1880s and 1890s produced the first and for a long time the only opportunities for physical activity and hygiene.

Such ends were subordinate to that of national revival. The great Republican educational reformers were also great patriots. In 1881 Paul Bert, the minister of public instruction in Gambetta's short-lived cabinet, appointed Paul Déroulède to preside over the commission of military education of the ministry of public instruction. Its mission was to teach young Frenchmen the cult of the flag, a taste for arms, respect for discipline, and pride in being French.[16] It was Déroulède who organized the national shooting competitions out of which in 1886 there arose the Union des Sociétés de Tir de France. In 1885 Jean Macé, another prominent progressive figure who had begun his teaching career at Beblenheim, in lost Alsace, wrote the preface to a *Manuel de tir à l'usage des écoles primaires.* Like his ally Fernand Buisson, the founder of the Ligue de l'enseignement had abandoned his pacifism to encourage the *bataillons scolaires* that drilled in schoolyards with their condemned rifles.

This aspect of physical education went on riding the preparedness wave up to the eve of 1914, when we can find a man like Jaurès' friend, Charles Andler, socialist and patriot, referring to the rivalry between Greek cities and their athletic and artistic jousts: "The need to be constantly ready for the final and vital struggle, tempers a humanity of rare physical integrity, sober, well-trained, nervous, muscular, all made for action." In Andler's mind, as in the pages of an anonymous pamphlet of 1898, *Ludus pro patria,* the need to be prepared provided the ulterior justification of activities that —ideally—are their own ends.

There was little of play and less of ludic exuberance about such officially sponsored enterprises. French sport did not grow out of the *bataillons scolaires.* It grew out of a rival impetus championed by men with very different ideas, like Pierre de Coubertin, whose name remains linked to the Olympic Games he was responsible for reviving in 1896. Coubertin and his friends saw athletics as a means of freeing French youth from deadening disciplines, including physical training or physical education. The divergence between official initiatives and the new wave that Coubertin represented is what concerns us here.

The first gymnastic society had been founded at Guebwiller, in Alsace, before the end of the Second Empire. Sports, on the other hand, entered France via England. For the *fin de siècle,* the very term "sport" carried an

[16] See Paul Déroulède, *De l'éducation militaire* (Paris, 1882). Shortly thereafter, Déroulède himself placed his greatest hopes in the "jeunesse des écoles, gymnastes français, fils d'ouvriers ou de bourgeois, toute la France adolescente et déjà virile. . ." (*Le Drapeau,* July 14, 1883). Gymnastic societies provided some of the strongest supporters of the Ligue des patriotes, which had been founded in a Paris gymnasium whose owner, Jules Sansboeuf, vice-president of the Association of French Gymnastic Clubs, was one of Déroulède's leading lieutenants in the Ligue.

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equivocal sound. Littré had described it as an English word and warned: "In France one often confuses sport and turf; but turf (racing) is only one kind of sport." Nevertheless, to most people, the two terms remained interconnected with the "vulgar and unpleasant" overtones of horse racing, race courses, and betting.[17] *Le Sport,* "Journal des gens du monde," first published in 1854, had been chiefly devoted to racing and hunting. The fashionable Société sportive de Bordeaux concerned itself solely with horse-racing. Until the turn of the century, a sportsman was usually a man who owned, rode, or betted on horses. Thus, when Léon Blum joined Tristan Bernard to launch a regular "Critique de Sport" in the *Revue Blanche* of 1894, their very first article largely equated "sport" and horse racing. And the same confusion was to reappear (though slightly mitigated) in an 1897 passage of Blum's *Nouvelles Conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann.*[18]

On a less literary or esthetic plane, contemporary publications mirror this prejudice. Louis Baume's *Moeurs sportives* (1895) deals with racing, betting, and the race course public. Jacques Lozère's *Sport et Sportsmen* (1896) consists of racing chronicles. That same year the only reference to sport in Henri Rochefort's *Aventures de ma vie* was a comparison between the "turf" of 1865 and that of his old age, ruined by the introduction of *pari mutuel.* When in 1899–1900 Baron de Vaux published two large, magnificently illustrated volumes on *Le Sport en France et à l'étranger,* the first volume (334 pages) was devoted to shooting, fencing, and the sporting activities of crowned heads; the second volume (442 pages) to riding, hunting, falconry, and "athletics." This last section, seventy-three pages long, mixed pell-mell boxing and wrestling, golf, tennis, skating, running, discus throwing, and football.

There were other sports, recognized leisure activities more or less athletic according to mood and circumstance, whose names proclaimed their English origins. The Rowing Club de Paris had been set up in 1853. The Bordeaux Athletic Club would be founded in 1877 by fourteen British residents of the port. There were also *le yachting* and *le footing.*[19] These activities were not taken very seriously. "It was the fashion in those days to scoff at sports," writes Guillaume Apollinaire revealingly in 1907 about the mood of the 1880s.[20] At least rowing, riding, and yachting were familiar,

17 "Les 'sports athlétiques,' mots nouveaux, mots hostiles et barbares contre lesquels se hérissèrent les préjugés d'un Comité mal informé, enclin à ne retenir de ce terme de 'sport' que son acception vulgaire et déplaisante." Georges Bourdon, *La Renaissance athlétique et le Racing Club de France* (Paris, 1906), 126. Written by a founder-member of the Racing, Bourdon's book is one of the few authoritative sources for the events of these years.

18 *Revue Blanche,* Jan. 1894; *Oeuvres de Léon Blum* (Paris, 1954), 1: 204–06. I am indebted for the indication to Professor Annie Kriegel.

19 "La marche, qui se contente de ce substantif quand les personnages qui la cultivent sont de condition moyenne ou inférieure, prend le nom de *footing* quand ceux qui la pratiquent appartiennent au high-life." Crafty [pseud.], *Paris sportif* (Paris, 1896), 23. The word *rowing* was also steadfastly preferred over native terms like *aviron* or *canotage.* See categories of that name in *Les Sports athlétiques,* or even provincial publications like *Midi-Football* (Toulouse, 1908). The Cyclist Club Lillois, founded in 1893, also bears the mark of English influence.

20 "Maupassant athlète," *La Culture physique,* no. 52, Mar. 1907.

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while the new games continued to seem strange. In his memoirs Pierre de Coubertin remembers how, in the 1890s, *le Gaulois* referred to "the long flat mallets" with which one played football. For the Bonapartist *l'Autorité*, football was played with racquets and small, hard balls. And Francisque Sarcey in *l'Echo de Paris* praised holidays spent at *jeu de paume*: "journées pleines de charme même quand on les décore du nom anglais de football."[21] By that time, as we shall shortly see, football of one sort or another had been played in France for twenty years. It would remain a quasi-confidential enterprise as long as most people continued to ignore games or regard them as fit only for children.

If press and public gradually became more knowledgeable about different sports, it was probably because of one particular pastime that would become particularly French, a sport that, though partly inspired by English ventures, may well be counted a French creation: "Cours, vélo, cours dans ta lumière/ Le progrès chevauche sur toi!" sang Deckert's "Ode au Véloce." The tone had hardly changed since the first modern sporting publications had sprouted in Paris and in the provinces around 1868–69, all devoted to cycling, symbol of "moral and material progress," means of regenerating man by physical exercise. Edouard Seidler has briefly traced the rise of a French sporting press from uncertain beginnings to 1894, when the weekly *Bicyclette* printed twenty thousand copies and the daily *Vélo*, founded three years earlier, boasted sales of eighty thousand.[22] By that time France boasted 132,000 velocipedes of one kind or another. The sporting press that catered to their owners had discovered and would reveal the close relationship between a certain kind of sporting activity, publicity, and circulation.

The first long-distance cycle race, from Paris to Rouen, was held in 1869. The 1870s and 1880s saw a great number of competitions, with the same race involving tricycles, penny-farthings, and other models then in existence. Almost all were amateur competitions, and all were dominated by English cyclists. Thus when the oldest of the great road races still in existence, Bordeaux-Paris, was first run in May 1891, four Englishmen led the winners.[23] It soon became apparent that, properly handled, such enterprises helped to sell newspapers and also cycles. It was *le Petit Journal* that promoted the great Paris-Brest-Paris race in 1891, and the second great sporting daily, *l'Auto*, launched the Tour de France in 1903 to promote its sales.

[21] Pierre de Coubertin, *Une Campagne de 21 Ans, 1887–1908* (Paris, 1909), 85; M.-Th. Eyquem, *Pierre de Coubertin* (Paris, 1966), 59.

[22] *Le Sport et la Presse* (Paris, 1964), 14–35.

[23] Incidentally, the *Véloce Sport* of Bordeaux, organizers of the race, convinced that no man could pedal 572 kilometers at one go, organized a dormitory at Angoulême, 132 kilometers from the start. None of the twenty-eight runners stopped. By September 1891, 211 competitors faced twice the distance: the 1,200-kilometer stretch from Paris to Brest and back. That race was won by Frenchmen.

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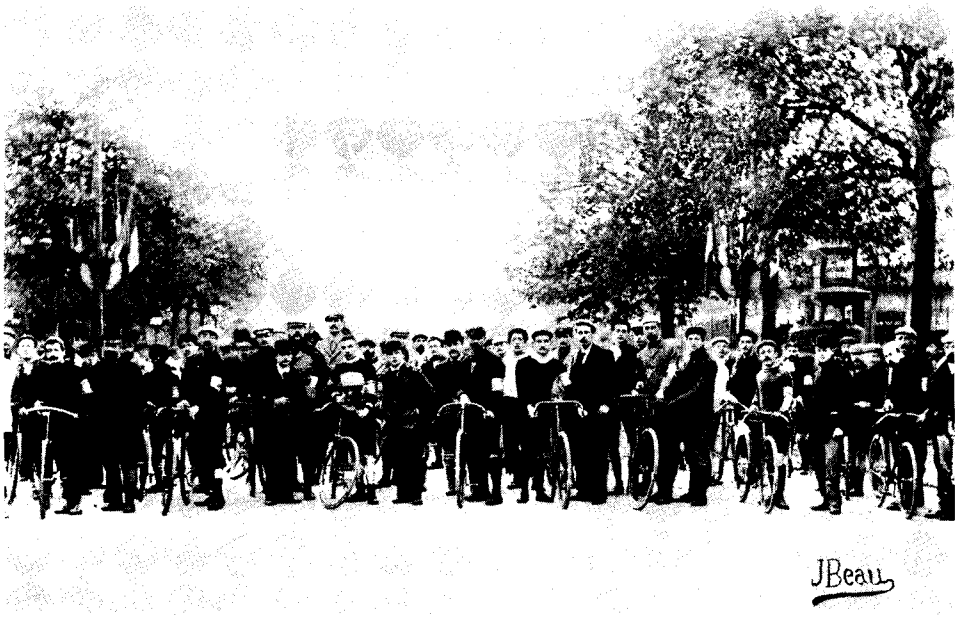


Fig. 1. Departure of the Paris-Roubaix race, 1896. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

For a long time cycling remained an expensive pastime. The bicycle itself was likely to cost five hundred francs or more, equivalent to two months of a lieutenant's pay or three of an *instituteur*'s. Regarded as a luxury, it was first subjected to direct tax; after 1900 the bicycle was taxed indirectly through the requirement of a license plate. Characteristically, the first prophets, champions, and practitioners of the new sport were *fils de famille*: the racer and future trainer, Paul Ruinart, was the son of a wholesale wine merchant; Tristan Bernard, who undertook the management of the Vélodrome Buffalo in 1892, was the son of a builder and real estate man. A few years later Henri Desgranges, who took over the new velodrome at the Parc des Princes in 1897 and launched *l'Auto*—destined to become France's major sporting daily—was a notary's clerk, representing another social group. His humbler origins reflect the relegation of the bicycle from luxury object —one with which an arch-esthete like Robert de Montesquiou did not disdain being photographed—to solid investment accessible to middle- and lower-middle-class budgets. The change had been swift.

Between 1889 and 1891 John Boyd Dunlop's pneumatic tires had begun to replace solid rubber ones, inner tubes permitted André and Edouard Michelin to develop detachable tires, cycle prices began to fall,[24] and cycle racing to attract more popular attention. After 1891, cherished and publicized by the press, cycling became the most popular of sports. The winner of the Paris-Brest race, national champion Charles Terront, had a place of

[24] Baudry de Saunier shows an advertisement for a cheap model selling at 375 francs. A good quality model cost fifty francs more. *L'Art de bien monter en bicyclette* (Paris, 1894), 21.

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honor reserved for him at the Opera at the gala performance honoring the visiting Russian sailors in 1893. By 1897 H. de Graffigny's *Manuel pratique du constructeur et du conducteur de cycles et d'automobiles* estimated the number of cyclists in France at three hundred thousand. Graffigny exaggerated, but what a Paris paper had once sneered at as *imbéciles à roulettes* had become part of the landscape.

A young schoolteacher starting out in the Normandy countryside remembers seeing his first cyclist in 1890 and yearning for the machine that would put the surrounding world within easier reach than walking, which was all he could afford. But "in 1895 bicycles were still very rare, in 1897 their price was still inaccessible for me." Finally, in 1898 help from his farmer father, a loan from an uncle who was a village mason, and fifty francs in savings enabled him to buy a second-hand bicycle. It took five years to repay the loan, but it was worth it. "Henceforth I was king of the road, since I was faster than a horse." But he was one of the privileged few: "perhaps the only one of my class to own an iron steed."[25]

The concrete economics of a major purchase indicate why bicycles remained thin on the ground, but also how—and why—they ceased to count as objects of conspicuous consumption. It is interesting to compare the original membership of the Club vélocipédique de Bordeaux, founded in 1892, an obviously upper-middle-class group, with that of the Cyclistes girondins, founded in 1897, several notches below the middle of the middle class.[26] It was scarcely a coincidence that the first auto club in Bordeaux appeared in 1897, the very year when cycling publicists like Baudry de Saunier abandoned velocipedes for automobiles. Those who could afford it were turning to more exclusive activities. Where in 1891 the first sporting daily had squarely entitled itself *Vélo*, its rival ten years later hedged by setting out as *Auto-Vélo* and had shed the second term by 1903.

The cycle was no longer in the forefront of progress. The late 1890s saw it become a sport for shop assistants, whose kind accounted for fifteen out of twenty-seven founder-members of the Cycle Club de Bordeaux and nine out of twenty-one Cyclistes girondins. We witness the appearance of clubs like the Société des cyclistes coiffeurs-parfumeurs (1896) or the Union cycliste des postes et des télégraphes (1897).[27] Figures given by Jean Fourastié suggest a vertiginous fall in prices. The cheapest bicycle of 1893 cost the equivalent of 1,655 hours' wages of a factory hand in the provinces. By

[25] Autobiographical sketch quoted in Jacques Ozouf, *Nous les maîtres d'école* (Paris, 1967), 122–23. A sound social historian, Pierre Pierrard, finds workingmen beginning to use bicycles in 1914. *Lille et les Lillois* (Paris, 1967), 249.

[26] AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, Bordeaux. The Club vélocipédique counted five wholesale merchants, three university professors, a doctor, a dentist, a chief engineer, a builder, and a shopkeeper; Les Cyclistes girondins, presided over by the owner of a bicycle store, listed a printer, six shop assistants, three *coiffeurs,* and a student, but also a *cafétier,* a *nickeleur,* a baker, an ironmonger, a stationer, a sergeant-major, and an armorer-corporal.

[27] One may note that in Bordeaux, at any rate, the postmen's union was set up in 1905, eight years after the founding of the cycling club.

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1911, with hourly wages up and bicycle prices down, a cheap model cost only the equivalent of 357 hours—almost half the price of a sewing machine, and hence accessible for bachelors of the working class. The evidence suggests that, for the masses, cycling remained a spectator sport.[28] Yet, even so, its influence upon the fate of other amateur sports was great. It first suggested the pursuit of sport for pleasure in social circles where this was not normally envisaged; numerically important clubs not appealing exclusively to middle and upper classes were formed around it; last but not least, especially in the provinces, cycling enthusiasts contributed some of the first officers and experienced members to the foundation of more broadly oriented clubs.[29]

Though touching smaller numbers, the great sporting revolution of the eighties and nineties was less concerned with cycling or with traditional sports than with organized open-air games of the kind associated with English public school education, particularly running and ball games. And, once again, the English influence is apparent from the start.

The first Club des coureurs, founded in 1875 by two young Parisians (one of them English), died within only a few months. In 1877 André Berthelot (1862–1938), then at the Lycée Saint-Louis, gathered a few friends eager to race each other and play football in the Bois de Boulogne. Apparently passers-by assumed that they were French-speaking Englishmen. This group also did not last very long. In 1880 the future arctic explorer, Jean Charcot, son of the great neurologist, then a fourteen-year-old pupil at the École Alsacienne, started organized games at his school. But the École Alsacienne was exceptional. Most secondary schools had neither room nor sympathy for such goings-on. Hence, in the course of 1881–82, a number of students from Right-Bank institutions—Condorcet, Rollin, Carnot (then the École Monge)—got into the habit of running impromptu races after school in the entrance hall of the nearby Gare St. Lazare. Joined by some veterans of Berthelot's old group, they soon founded the grandiloquently titled Racing Club de France and began to organize regular Sunday races in the more tranquil atmosphere of the Bois de Boulogne.

First of French sporting associations, authorized by a decree of November 23, 1882, the Racing did not belie its name. Its terminology and style were borrowed from the turf. Runners were divided into stables, wore jockey

[28] Relative prices based on figures in Jean Fourastié, *Le Grand Espoir du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1963), 171. For club memberships, see AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, *passim*. See also the evidence of Henri Desgranges's preface to Marcel Violette, *Le Cyclisme* (Paris, 1912), x, still clearly addressed to middle-class readers.

[29] In 1896 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, handy indicator of fashionable trends, produced a lithograph of a driver (his cousin, Tapié de Céleyran, muffled and goggled at the wheel of his automobile) and a sketch of the English champion, Michael, whirling around the track of the Vélodrome Buffalo under the eyes of Frantz Reichel, the athlete. The driver is engaged in a private adventure; the cyclist trains for a public show. But Reichel's presence marks the link between cycling turned into a popular and profitable display and more exclusive sports destined in their turn to provide a public show.

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costumes with colored sashes and caps, sometimes carried horsewhips to complete the pretense, idled in the "*pesage*," ran under assumed horse names in races whose titles were borrowed from Longchamps and Auteuil and whose results were bet on by the assembled sportsmen and their fashionable

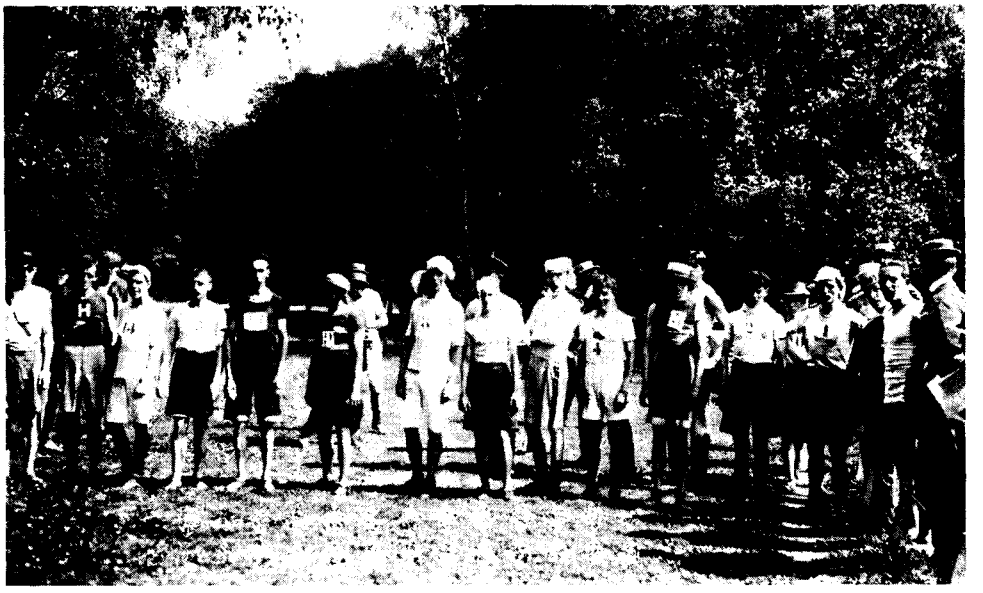


Fig. 2. Competitors in the Marathon des Amateurs, 1900. The forty-kilometer race was won by Théato in 2 hours, 59 minutes, 45 seconds. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

friends. For Rodolphe Salis in the *Chat Noir* (Spring 1882), here was "the latest creation of invading anglomania."[30] Soon Ferdinand de Lesseps himself accepted the honorary presidency. On July 6, 1884, he presented the winner of the Prix de Panama with a handsome horsewhip. Very shortly such influential connections secured the Racing a permanent home in the Bois, where running tracks were later joined by football grounds.

Meanwhile, in 1883, students of the Lycée Saint-Louis, who had been informally running and training in the Luxembourg gardens, moved first into the Tuileries, then, with prefectorial consent, to the Orangerie terrace. There they founded the Stade Français, which became the Racing's great Left-Bank rival. It was after a cross-country race in 1887 that the two clubs joined in the Union des Sociétés françaises de courses à pied, followed in 1889 by the more comprehensive Union des Sociétés françaises de sports athlétiques (USFSA), which incorporated tennis, cycling, football, rowing, and similar activities. Some federal organization was needed to facilitate the international encounters that began to take place in the mid-1880s and to encourage sporting activities and spread the sporting gospel, organizing national competitions and keeping people in touch. *Les Sports athlétiques*, USFSA's weekly bulletin, provides a mirror of their activity, in which ball games played an increasingly important role.

[30] For details of all this, see Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 42, *passim*.

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Football, at least, came to France two or three years before it reached Germany.[31] A list of provincial teams in the *Almanach des Sports* of 1899 confirms the English game's predictable lines of penetration: the ports, the north (and Lyon) with their textile connections, the highway from Normandy to Paris, Paris itself with its large Anglo-Saxon colony. Across the Channel in England, the Football Association had been set up in 1863, but it took some years to make up its mind how the game should be played. By 1871, however, Association football and Rugby football had become clearly separate and autonomous in England; about the same time, the game entered France through Le Havre, where the Havre Athletic Club (HAC) was born in 1872. Founded by Oxford and Cambridge men, its colors combined the blues of the two universities. It is not very clear what game the HAC played, but its first teams do not seem to have known—or cared about—the rules finally set up in England. They played a "combination" game probably close to rugger until 1891, when the Club finally set up two distinct rugger and soccer sections—one of the first French clubs to do so.

For a long time French football was dominated by the HAC, or, if not by the club itself, then by the English sailors, clerks, and students who colonized both soccer and rugger until about 1914. When HAC won the French championship in 1899, six of its players were English. All the earliest Paris soccer clubs were also started by Englishmen. The Paris Football Club (1879–84) lapsed for lack of rivals. It was succeeded in 1890 by the Football Association Club, founded by the personnel of two English firms. Then, in 1891, the White Rovers (inspired by the Cup Final victory of the Blackburn Rovers) was founded at Bécon-les-Bruyères, and soccer clubs multiplied thereafter.

The USFSA—addicted to rugby, which was "more highly regarded in the upper classes of [English] society"—reluctantly admitted the existence of Association football. After soccer clubs had threatened to secede, the USFSA organized a national soccer championship, won in 1894 by the Standard Athletic Club team, comprising one Frenchman and ten Englishmen. In 1895 James Gordon Bennett, editor of the New York *Herald*, donated the silver cup that would henceforth reward the winners of the Association football championship. By 1899 Association football boasted some three-score clubs in the Paris area alone, and Frantz Reichel (see fig. 3), one of the city's great rugby players, noted that soccer—less violent, brutal, and dangerous than rugby—had spread considerably in France: "Which is a pity, for it is not worth as much as rugby from the educational point of view."[32]

By the turn of the century, French teams began to participate in international competitions, and these, especially against the English, tended to

[31] English boys attending private schools in Geneva, Lausanne, and St. Gallen, as well as Swiss graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, established the game in Switzerland before it appeared elsewhere on the Continent: La Chatelaine of Geneva was founded in 1869; the St. Gallen Football Club in 1879; and the Grasshoppers of Zurich in 1886.

[32] See *Almanach des Sports, 1899* (Paris, 1899), 420; *Almanach des Sports, 1900* (Paris, 1900), 387.

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Fig. 3. The Racing XV of 1899, captained by Frantz Reichel, one of the great figures of French sport. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

end in catastrophic scores: 15–0 in 1906, 12–0 in 1908, 11–0 in 1909, 10–1 in 1910. In 1911, with a loss of only 3–0, the wind began to turn and, by 1921, French soccer could mark up its first victory against England: 2–1.

The trend probably reflected the gradual acclimatization of the game and the growing number of native clubs from which a truly national team could select its players. We shall see that the slow progress of soccer with its narrow, foreign base contrasts with the swifter adoption of rugby, introduced less by foreign residents than by French schoolboys. It was only after 1919, with athletic sports no longer a preserve of upper-class teenagers, that the spread of ball games at the popular level meant the spread of soccer, which is not only easier to play and demanding of less effort, but easier to play informally and without getting as dirty as one necessarily does in a rugger game.

But this was still in the future. For a long time the men involved in football (or other sports) were very few in number and considered themselves an elite. "The Grand Prix at Longchamps," notes a sporting *lycée* professor in *Les Sports athlétiques*, December 12, 1891, "attracts over fifty thousand, a football match hardly five hundred." This remained true for ten or fifteen years. The concomitant elitism may have been a compensation, at least in part; a spurning of grapes less green than out of reach. But elitism, whatever the motives behind it, was a crucial element of contemporary sporting

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effort. The Racing accepted only amateurs, as defined in 1866 by the English Amateur Athletic Club in a formula that banned professionalism or the possibility of gain, stressed the fact that the amateur is a "gentleman," and excluded "mechanics, laborers and artisans." When the first article of the USFSA's rules barred all but amateurs from membership, it eliminated not only any athlete who had ever competed in an open race, or for money, or for pay, or for a share of the gate receipts, or against professionals, but also specifically, anyone "who has ever been, at any time in his life, a paid teacher or monitor of physical exercises." The latter were professionals, hence barred from activities that gentlemen not only pursued but regulated. The true sporting spirit, as the general secretary of the USFSA explained to a provincial prefect, consisted in opposing "professionalism, money prizes, betting, in a word all that paralyzes the beneficent effects of sport."[33]

No man could devote much time, let alone his life, to sport without a private income and not be somehow a professional. But the pioneers of pure sport addressed themselves to an audience who did not need to face this problem. Their determined stand against professionalism would play its part in the rival fortunes of Rugby and Association football.

Article 51 of the USFSA rules, concerning football competitions, declared that the national championship will be played out "in two series of *matchs* [*sic*] played according to the rules adopted by the Rugby Union." The first number of *Les Sports athlétiques* (April 5, 1890) devoted two pages out of six to "Football." Closer examination shows this to have meant rugby until December 1893 when, soccer having been admitted into the USFSA, the football rubric begins to appear with two separate subheadings: "Rugby" and "Association"—the latter only hardly and very briefly mentioned for several years more. Revealingly, the bulletin of the Club nivernais d'amateurs, founded in 1895, was entitled *Le Rugby* and continued under that title until the eve of the First World War. When in 1894 a leading figure of the USFSA, Georges de Saint-Clair, published *Football (Rugby)*, it is clear that the subtitle was there only as an afterthought and that, for his friends of the Racing and the Stade Français, football was rugby. Soccer, tainted by English professionalism, carried too many vulgar associations. Rugby, even when played by the lower classes as in England, allowed for distinctions.[34] Indeed, explains Saint-Clair, referring to possible dangers of the game likely to arouse parental concern, most accidents (in England) occur in those "northern mining districts where the population—very rough

[33] Eyquem, *Coubertin*, 63; letter of Pierre de Coubertin, Nov. 7, 1892, AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives (Stade Bordelais).

[34] It was in 1895 that the Rugby Football League broke off from the English Rugby Union on the issue of paying players. Dominant in the Midlands and the north of England, League rugby, with thirteen players, catered to a more working-class public than it did in the southern counties, where the public schools held sway.

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and brutal—does not bring to the game the desirable distinction and courtesy. When played by young, well-bred men, football is not dangerous."[35]

The favorite game of English public schools, rugby was the form of football that most students adopted, especially in Paris. It is striking to find Charles Péguy, who in the early 1890s had introduced Association football in his *lycée* at Orléans, moving to the *cagne* at Lakanal and there taking up rugby because it was the game that Paris *lycéens* played.[36]

Thus rugby spread, carried by the hazards of student life, to university towns and sometimes to other areas—like Nantes, where Parisian influences inspired the Stade Nantais as early as 1886, or Perpignan where, in 1889, a boy who had played the game at the Lycée Michelet in Paris founded the Union athlétique du Collège perpignanais, seed of the great Catalan rugby school.[37]

The strongest impetus for sport in the southwest came from Bordeaux. The chance presence of a dynamic personality had made the city the first center of athletic activities in the provinces, through the Ligue girondine de l'éducation physique, founded in 1888 by Philippe Tissié. Author of numerous articles and pamphlets on gymnastics and hygiene, Dr. Tissié was one of the many medical men whose patriotic and sanitary concerns turned them into militant missionaries of sport. His energy, his influence, and that of the Ligue he founded, gained the support of the regional rectorate. As a result, the directives of the ministry of education, largely ignored in other areas, were applied in Aquitaine, where most secondary and a great many elementary schools made sports and games part of the regular curriculum. Offspring of modest homes, familiarized with running and games in primary school, could be found practicing sports in associations of their own or in the Stade Bordelais, whose foundation in 1889 was a direct result of the enthusiasm generated by the Ligue.

Thanks to this groundwork, the first USFSA regional committee had been set up in Bordeaux in 1893. Regional committees followed in Toulouse and Lyon four years later. Meanwhile, Bordeaux became the first provincial city to play an important role in the national rugby championship, the Stade Bordelais winning it in 1899, playing in the finals for the next three years, and retaining the cup from 1902 to 1907. Altogether, after 1899, all but six of the national pennants were won by clubs from south of the Loire. The south, above all the southwest, remained rugby country, partly because of the USFSA's prejudices, partly because of the English influences radiating from Bordeaux, Bayonne, Biarritz, and Pau.

Soccer appeared as a kind of Cinderella: "Latecomer, faced with a cold

[35] Georges de Saint-Clair, *Football (Rugby)* (Paris, 1894), 20; see also Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 248, *passim*.

[36] See Blanchard, *Ma Jeunesse*, 112; Jules Isaac, *Expériences de ma vie* (Paris, 1959), 46, *passim*. Péguy, who had led the Orléans *lycée* team to victory against its rivals of Chartres in 1891, captained the Lakanal team the following year, playing at fullback.

[37] Albert Bausil and Jean Vidal, *Le Rugby Catalan* (Perpignan, 1924), 8.

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reception. . . . The wealthy clubs showing no interest, there was no publicity for its matches. . . . School clubs, that is the bourgeoisie, keep away for ten years. Rugby alone seems noble, fascinating."[38] When, in 1909, the Douanier Rousseau painted his *Joueurs de football* (see fig. 4), the players were obviously rugby players, and so were those of later painters who depicted ball games, like André Lhôte, Albert Gleizes, and Robert Delaunay. Equally revealing, the illustrated cover of the *Revue des jeux scolaires* showed two young men in sports costume, one wearing cycling knickers, the other football shorts and carrying a rugby ball under his arm. "It seems as if Association football is essentially popular, and rugby the preserve of an elite," muses an observer, adding that rugby's future depends wholly on how it does *parmi les milieux scolaires*.[39] Remarks such as these suggest a partial explanation of the intriguing hold of rugby on southern and most especially southwestern France.

By 1900, when Association football appeared south of the Loire, established clubs were controlled by rugby players, and a local tradition had grown up. Soccer teams and clubs were set up and, in the bigger centers, flourished. Association football became the great spectator sport of industrial urban centers, drifting to professionalism as a direct result of the role it played, the masses to which it catered, and the resources it commanded. But the small towns and small urban centers of Midi and Languedoc, which lacked both the industrial concentrations that furnished the public of professional soccer and the resources for a variety of sports, remained faithful to the amateur game with which they identified. Cities almost without industry, without an industrial proletariat, an urban network whose evolution in the 1960s can be compared to the stage reached by the industrial regions of the north and east at the end of the nineteenth century, go far to explain the provincial conservatism of a region where the glories of amateur rugby go hand in hand with economic stagnation. The greatest teams of the twentieth century appear in centers like Narbonne, Lourdes, Pau, Bayonne, Dax, and Perpignan. A lawyer from Agen, a town of forty thousand whose team was three times French rugby champion in the 1960s, recently declared: "Agen must grow, prunes and rugby are not enough."[40] Yet it would seem that Agen's rugby flourishes best while its economy rests on prunes. "Sport d'amateurs . . . école de volonté, d'energie," rugby, once favorite of the better off, endures as the game of more backward regions, of communities that, unable to subsidize professionals, continue to play it themselves.

[38] Raoul Fabens, *Les Sports pour tous* (Paris, 1906), 127.

[39] Edouard Pontié, *Le Football Rugby* (Paris, 1905), 20. The title suggests that, by this date, the second variant of football had affirmed itself sufficiently to call for clearer definition.

[40] See Pierre Laroque, "Agen ou le modèle d'une équipe," *Le Monde*, Nov. 25, 1969, p. 17.

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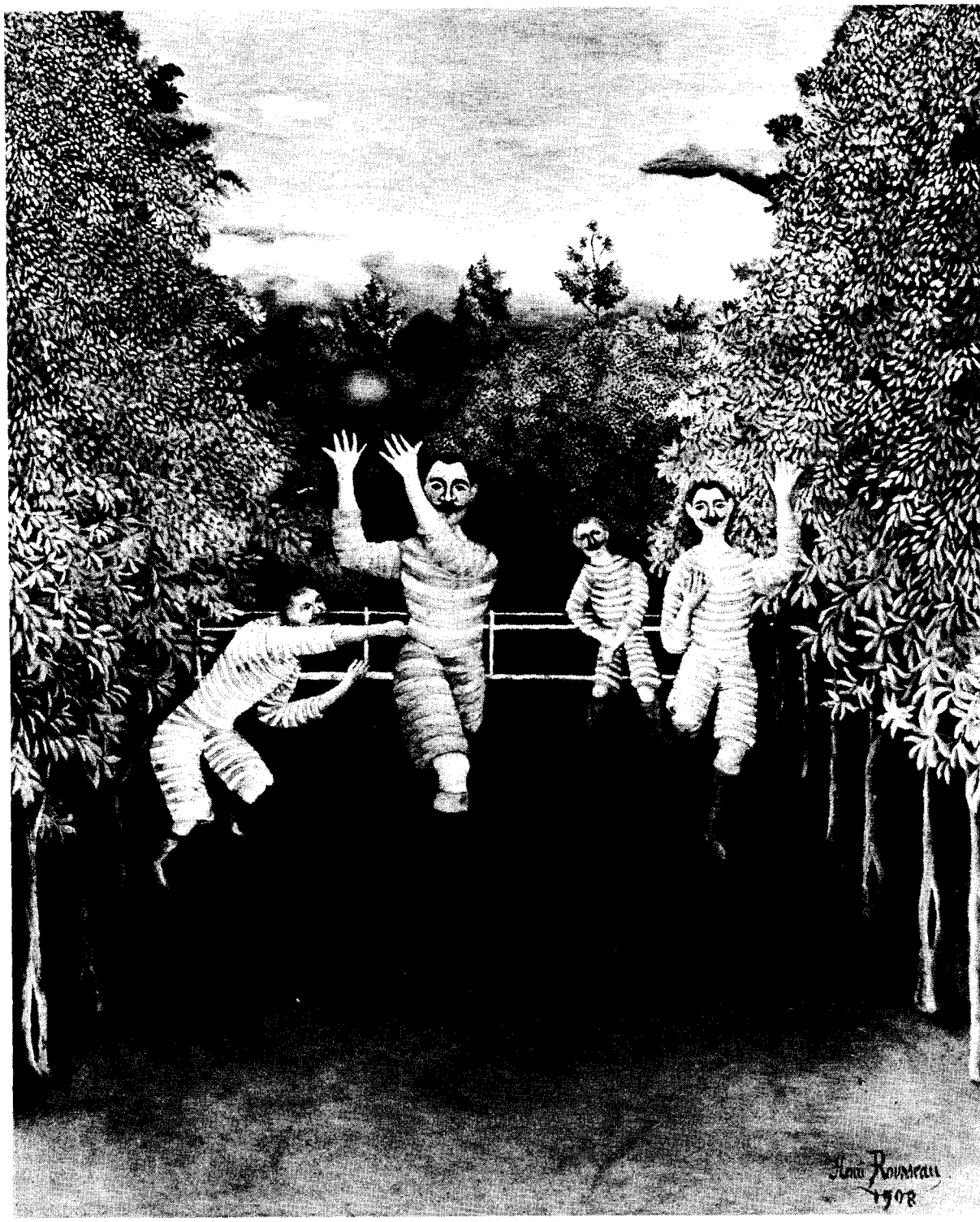


Fig. 4. Henri Rousseau, *Football Players* (1908). Photograph: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.

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Rugby remained true to the ideals that the first sporting clubs embodied: elitism, amateurism, the educational value of sporting activities were what its followers stood for and what we can find in the writings of men like Pierre de Coubertin. Coubertin, whose efforts played a major role in the spread and acceptance of sporting activities in the late 1880s and 1890s, had seen athletics and games as key educational activities, apt to produce all-round men and to free French youth from moral and physical inertia. What Coubertin had not bargained for was that the athletic revival that he did so much to bring about made a great contribution to the nationalist revival of the pre-1914 years.

Before the turn of the century the *Almanach des Sports* already celebrated the martial virtues of team games. "*Le football,*" for instance, "is a veritable little war, with its necessary discipline, and its way of getting participants used to danger and to blows." Then, in 1913, Agathon's well-known inquiry into the mood of middle-class youth noted the effect of sports on "the patriotic optimism of youth" and praised "the moral benefit of collective sports, like football, so widespread in our lycées," which "develop and maintain a warlike atmosphere among young people."[41]

Coubertin himself had little use for such conclusions. But he quoted with approval an article in which the journalist Pierre Mille described what his young contemporaries had learned from sport: "They quite often consider a possible war as a match that must be played as well as possible, after having trained for it scientifically. One holds on, keeping one's composure and one's breath to the end. And if you win, you win; if you lose, you lose. It is no dishonor. A game is a game, and that is all."[42]

Going beyond the advantages of preparedness, sport, as Hippolyte Taine had perceived in his *Notes sur l'Angleterre* (1872), may also be considered as an excellent "outlet . . . for the strong and over-ample vigor of youth. . . ." From society's point of view, competitive games offered a means of channeling and regulating violence, especially the savage violence of adolescence. To individuals too ready to follow some subversive drummer, games offered opportunities for self-assertion and sometimes also for indulging in competitive violence in any number of ways that society condemns outside the battlefield. Theodore Roosevelt, a great supporter of Coubertin, always preached the value of sport as a source of energy, but also as a way of

41 See Ernest Séillière, *Un Artisan d'énergie française* (Paris, 1917); Louis d'Hurcourt, "La Guerre et les Sports," *Almanach des Sports, 1899,* 35; H. Massis and J. de Tarde [Agathon], *Les jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1913), 35; see also Paul Souchon and Jacques May, *La Littérature Sportive contemporaine* (Paris, 1924), 10, *passim,* for other aspects of this mood. The young men whom Massis and de Tarde praised were probably the same we meet in chapter 12 of R. M. du Gard's *Jean Barois* (Paris, 1913). They would be exact contemporaries of the École Normale's 1913 "équipe des intellectuels," a XV among whose players were to be found Jean Giraudoux, Alain Fournier, Claude Casimir-Périer, Charles Tardieu, and Alexandre Guinle.

42 Coubertin, *Essais de psychologie sportive* (Paris, 1913), 262. Compare in Agathon the young men who declare that sport had given them "the taste of blood" and made them realize that "war was not stupid, cruel and hateful. It was quite simply sport for real." *Les jeunes gens,* 140–44.

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channeling excess energy into socially approved directions.[43] If, for children, play is often a work substitute, for adolescents its regulated form may provide a unique occasion for self-expression and immediate success. The kind of adjustment this facilitates may be looked on either with approval or with disfavor. Echoing the denunciations of sport's contribution to the "puerilism of contemporary life" found in Huizinga's *Homo ludens,* a French psychologist has found that sport provides "an extraordinarily effective appeasement for the insatiable unconscious," and hence "a very powerful means of infantilization." The best statement of this point of view appears in the work of Georges Magnane, for whom the discipline of sports offers "une liberté sous bonne garde." The opportunities opened for social control appear more powerful than those making for self-liberation or self-expression: "Sport is the chief pole of attraction toward approved activities: *licit,* consciously social and, in the broadest sense of the term, docile."[44]

We know that when problems vital to wild animals are solved by human intervention, surplus energy that may well be employed in play becomes available. Thus, adult domestic animals show tendencies to play that are normally found only in the young. For captive animals, too, play fulfills a hygienic role, providing an opportunity for activity without which animals nourished without effort and protected against natural enemies tend to lapse into aberrant behavior. Captives, all zoologists tell us, need special opportunities for distraction and for the expenditure of surplus energy. Writing about play in animals, Jacques Lecomte treats their games as substitutes designed to protect them against neuroses that may develop when their impulses cannot express themselves either in normal or in substitute activities. Referring to the tendency of animals liberated from tasks related to survival to express their freedom in play, he discerns ludic behavior "among young animals whose childhood is particularly prolonged and whose primary needs are satisfied by their parents."[45]

Even without remembering that Rousseau always insisted that "to educate is to retard," we cannot help recognizing the counterpart of these young animals in the young members of the middle and upper classes then being educated in the schools of France. That the concrete possibilities of this function of sport were soon noticed, and generally approved, can be seen from an essay printed as an appendix to Agathon's inquiry, in which a sporting journalist praised *l'éducation sportive* for preparing its subjects to be "the right and contented man in the right place."[46] Another contributor

[43] Similarly, Thorstein Veblen, for whom sport helped to preserve "the two most barbarous traits of primitive man: ferocity and cunning," also regarded it as a means of spending excess energy and letting off steam, comparable to war. *Theory of the Leisure Class* (Boston, 1917), 275, *passim.*

[44] Etienne de Greeff, *Les Instincts de défence et de sympathie* (Paris, 1947), 166; Magnane, *Sociologie du Sport* (Paris, 1964), 43.

[45] Jacques Lecomte, "Jeux des animaux," in Roger Caillois, ed., *Jeux et sports* (Paris, 1967), 46.

[46] "Dès maintenant, il me semble que l'éducation sportive a préparé notre Emile moderne à être bientôt (en allongeant légèrement la formule anglaise) 'l'homme convenable *et satisfait*

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described how the practice of football and cross-country running had taught him and his friends the competitive nature of life, persuaded them that men were unequal, and turned them away from socialism with its false ideas of equality, fraternity, and pacifism. "Sport enlightened me on myself and on my real feelings."[47] This brings to mind remarks of a later date, like Lucien Romier's assurance that a football team for every thousand inhabitants would solve the social problem. And it is true that, the hierarchy of players and athletes coinciding only very approximately with the general social hierarchy, games can provide temporary substitutes, artificial detours around irritating real-life barriers. They also provide a temporary opportunity for individuals to communicate—to commune—and to establish personal and social bonds that are otherwise lacking. A few years before the First World War, a rather obscure pamphlet actually pleaded this particular value of sport—the true equality established on the playing field—as a social educator. But we have seen already that this was not very likely to occur in the circumstances of the 1880s and 1890s, when class distinctions were affirmed rather than threatened by the new athletic clubs.

Romier's words were uttered between the wars, when men of good will sometimes sought "a substitute for national union in a football team."[48] In the 1890s the very idea of sporting activities for the common people evoked laughter when raised in a municipal council. Conversely, when the Fédération Sportive Athlétique Socialiste was founded in 1908, it catered only to members of the Socialist party (SFIO). Though this exclusivism was abandoned in 1911, sporting activities for class-conscious workers remained at the mercy of political fluctuations and counted for little until the 1930s. The Swiss Socialists did much better in this respect with their SATUS (Workers' Federation of Gymnastics and Sport), founded in 1874.

There were, of course, the *patronages*, well-intentioned enterprises designed to improve the character and body of the deserving poor. The name reflects a paternalistic and, finally, patronizing inspiration. Not that, seen in contemporary perspective, there was much wrong in this, but for the fact that the *patronages* themselves served ulterior ends, while their activities, far from bringing sporting enthusiasts closer together, emphasized their divisions. Since the 1870s many English clubs founded in churches, chapels, or Sunday schools had grown to national prominence. But whereas in England such enterprises were "an innocent source of pleasure and satisfaction for the masses," in France they were too often mere rods to beat a foe. Thus, and especially in those western regions where political divisions were most

dans la place qui lui convient.' Ce serait un joli resultat." Georges Rozet, "La jeunesse et le Sport," in Agathon, *Les jeunes gens*, 139.

[47] *Ibid.*, 140–44.

[48] Charles de Saint-Cyr, *Le Sport, Educateur Social* (Paris, 1908), 15–16; J. Dumazedier, *Regards neufs sur le sport* (Paris, 1950), 29, 161; M. Berger, *Pourquoi je suis sportif* (Paris, 1939).

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fierce, many small towns enjoyed two sports clubs where one would have been ample—one Catholic, the other Republican, one for the Right, another for the Left, centers of their party's activities and focus for the hostility of the other side.[49] In the first decade of the century and especially after the separation law of December 1905, the Catholics made very serious efforts to expand and organize the scattered activities of their parish groups and thus regain some of the influence forfeited with the loss of so many teaching establishments. An increasing number of parish *patronages,* deliberately oriented toward physical activities appealing to the young (Les Jeunes de St. Bruno, de St. Genès, de St. Roch) were grouped in regional gymnastic and sporting unions, and these in turn affiliated to the Fédération Gymnastique et Sportive des Patronages de France, founded in 1898.

The Union Régionale Gymnastique et Sportive des Patronages du Sud-Ouest was officially registered in 1907. Its directors naturally insisted that it had no political aims, but their political opinions were well known, and these contradicted their professions of neutrality. The authorities were skeptical. "There can be no doubt," noted a police report, "that their true purpose is to gather together the greatest possible number of young Catholics, in order to maintain their confessional hold upon them."[50] Such Catholic zeal spurred the foundation or re-animation of secular competitors: *patronages laïques,* some founded by private enterprise, others (*patronages scolaires*) extracurricular enterprises rather half-heartedly undertaken by primary schoolteachers at the urging of the Inspectorat de l'Éducation primaire. In 1909 the southwest counted ninety-nine such *patronages scolaires,* mostly devoted to gymnastics, shooting, or premilitary training. But the Inspecteur d'Académie still bewailed the incapacity of such "Republican and secular" *patronages* to meet the challenge of Catholics and "enemies of the secular spirit." "Religious or reactionary *patronages,*" he reported, "open and operate on all sides, seizing our pupils when they step out of school and seeking to destroy that which we have sought to raise in their minds."[51]

Lay and religious *patronages* sometimes clashed over the use of playgrounds, the latter better served, as a rule, by the generosity of private sympathizers, the former clamoring for the support of the Republican authorities. Neither side lost sight of its ultimate purpose, which the Inspecteur d'Académie quoted above recalled in his report: these children were the electors of tomorrow.

This rivalry probably deserves further study. Meanwhile, whatever their inspiration, it is clear that *patronages* must have provided some of the first—

[49] For England, see P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society* (London, 1968), 72; for illustrations of the French situation, see J. Ozouf, *Nous les maîtres,* 29, 136.

[50] Report of the Commissaire de Police, Bordeaux, in AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives (Union régionale gymnastique et sportive).

[51] *Bulletin de l'Instruction Primaire* (Gironde), Oct. 1910, p. 88. The Union française des Oeuvres laïques d'éducation physique was not formed until 1928.

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and few—playgrounds and sporting activities available to the young of the poorer classes, left out of account by regular sporting clubs.

Not that the leaders of the USFSA wished it so. Coubertin, for one, was always keen to bring sports to the workers. But his hostility to professionalism, his indifference to the cost of athletic pastimes—small to the rich, but prohibitive to the poor—were as good as barriers. When in due course the stadiums were opened to the masses it would be less down in the arena than up on the tiers. Indeed, those sporting associations that catered first to the petty bourgeoisie and later, in the 1920s and 1930s, to the working classes, showed less interest in participation and disinterested competition than they did in prizes, professionalism, and spectator sports. Explicit or implicit, elitism ensured that "athletic sports" would remain the privilege of a minority. Social exclusivism could manifest itself in the clubhouse and on the playing field. The elitist aspirations of athletic enthusiasts could be enlisted to meaner ends. "C'est une élite seule qui peut être admise a cette culture intensive du muscle," declared an Aquitainian enthusiast.[52] And student clubs in particular tended to exclusivism. Thus, when the Bordeaux Université Club, founded in 1897, encountered the financial difficulties usual to its kind, it decided to merge with the powerful Stade Bordelais. In the debates that preceded the merger, a speaker warned that the Université Club was a society "of young men with a similar education, stemming from the same *milieu,* sharing common tastes," and hence more likely to get on together than with the mixed crew they would encounter in the larger club. It is true that the membership of the Stade Bordelais, though generally described in police reports as "de condition aisée" and benefiting from a "bonne éducation primaire," did include a fair number of clerks, shopkeepers, shop assistants, commercial travelers—even a waiter and a shoemaker. Such were no fit company for well-born youths. No wonder the merger soon dissolved, the students taking their leave in 1903 to found the Bordeaux Étudiants Club, explaining that "students who wish to engage in sports are tired of turning to clubs where they must mix with young persons of diverse professions and ages. . . ."[53]

Such attitudes elicited the tacit or overt support of the first sportsmen themselves, whose views may be found in the authoritative *Les Sports athlétiques.* Concluding a series of articles on the popularization of physical exercises, the organ of the USFSA opposed the ideas of clubs where workers and members "of the ruling classes" would mix: "Nous repoussons avec énergie les associations mixtes." Such contact between rich and poor

[52] Maurice Martin, "Un grand sport," *Revue philomatique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest,* 8 (1905): 6.

[53] F. Sauvaire-Jourdan, "Les Sports et les Universités françaises," *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement,* Dec. 15, 1913, pp. 3–15; AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, unclassified. The seceders never regretted their action. Compare *Le BEC,* Dec. 23, 1911: "You will not deny that the BEC, being made up of the intellectual elite, is certainly one of the French sports clubs where one finds the fewest cretins."

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would be bound to create frictions that were best avoided. Besides, it explained, many young people would never consent to mix with workers, sharing the games of a class they did not know and from whom they were separated by prejudices of birth, wealth, and upbringing. The article quoted "one of our finest runners" waxing indignant at the thought of measuring himself against opponents "sortis des rangs du peuple." That, it affirmed, was how three-quarters of the membership of all athletic societies felt. Evidently, "the hour of popular sports was not yet."[54]

It is hard to say how much of this passed through the minds of the USFSA leaders. Like other pursuits (including war), sport can suggest that its rules are applicable to the rest of existence, that the sense of fair play developed on the playing field may appropriately be indulged elsewhere. This would favor ideas of social justice. Sport can equally well offer evasion from lives too far removed from the clear-cut situations of the playing field, an excuse for not trying to resolve the complexities of the outside world, and a refuge in the simpler, more limited world of club and game. Besides, we have seen that the conclusions men drew from sporting experience differed. Only one thing is sure: the decades before the First World War offered little occasion to use or regard sport as opium for the masses. Its possibilities as an opiate, if any, would apply to higher reaches of society. Despite the fact that Georges Bourdon, historian and veteran of the Racing, writing in 1906, rejoiced that "athletic education, having transformed the youth of the *lycées*, begins to affect the sons of the people,"[55] the negative evidence of his remark is more convincing than the wishful thinking.

The distance between "the people" and the apologists of sport also appears in Paul Adam's Nietzschean *Morale des Sports* (1907), when the author argues that "the constant use of the brake is for the driver an incomparable moral exercise." But the term "driver" (*chauffeur*) refers to the hired hand who drives and cares for the automobile, as in another remark, this time by Coubertin himself, that the automobile makes for social equality by bringing nearer its rich owner and his *chauffeur*.[56]

A simple list of dates should be enough to tell how far sporting activities could affect the people or their sons. The ten-hour working day was introduced in 1900; a law of July 13, 1906, established one day of rest per week; another of April 23, 1919, cut the working day from ten to eight hours; finally, the official forty-hour week for both sexes was introduced in 1936. Obviously, there was not much free time for games before 1919. Cycling apart, the early history of organized sport in France had narrow scope: schoolboys, foreigners, young men of good family. Most of its protagonists

[54] *Les Sports athlétiques*, Jan. 10, 1891; Coubertin, *Une Campagne*, 87.

[55] Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 26.

[56] Coubertin, *Essais de psychologie sportive*, 229. Yet Coubertin was an untiring champion of higher education for workingmen. In 1890 he was proposing the examples of English university extension courses. In the early 1920s he preached *universités ouvrières*. See, for example, his *Entre deux batailles* (Paris, 1922).

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were *lycéens* and collegians. And there were, in the 1880s and 1890s, only about 52,000 *lycéens* and 160,000 young people in all secondary establishments, both clerical and lay. These students represented something like five per cent of their age group.[57] Few of them took an interest in organized games. But, then, there were not really that many who enlisted in nationalism, or syndicalism, or in the more passionate pursuit of the arts, and it is always the active minorities that attract our attention, because they affect—or in some way reflect—the rest.

If it is not too rash to draw conclusions from such a cursory survey, I should like to suggest that the appearance of athletics and sports in France at this particular time was no coincidence. The growing interest in sports was connected with patriotism only in an incidental way. The reasons for the relative success of organized sport—and for the particular social location of this success—were more general than sporadic *revanchisme* alone would account for and more specific than the derivative—or counterirritant—potential of physical exercise.

Sports appeared in France as a leisure activity characteristic of a particular moment when the economic slump, or stagnation, of the 1880s and 1890s liberated the time and energies of the upper and middle classes, or at least of their young. Lower prices; higher relative incomes, especially for the *rentier* class, members of the liberal professions, and persons on fixed salaries; and a combination of medical advances and economic retrenchment that kept old men alive longer, slowing or blocking possibilities of advancement—all this meant fewer opportunities or temptations in the traditional directions to which young men who did not need to work to eat could turn for a career. A higher proportion of the leisured young could wait, or chose to wait, a relatively long time before turning to money-earning activities. Many sought a career in less traditional directions: literature, the arts, politics, and overseas ventures.

The rash of little reviews that marks the *fin de siècle,* the rising interest in colonial adventure, the spread of sports where they had not been heeded before, were all reactions against a society often condemned as sclerotic, but also against its products, symptoms of a hardening and aging of social tissues. The growing favor and significance of activities not of a strictly utilitarian nature in social circles that had scorned them not long before was the evidence of a pathological condition, but perhaps also a token of its cure.

Advocates and observers had always remembered the connection between

[57] Compare F. Lagrange: "If our schoolboys get exercise, our students no longer do, any more than our young office employees or shop assistants." *L'Exercice chez les adultes* (Paris, 1897), 3. Class recruitment appears even more clearly in the beginnings of women's athletics and sports. See M.-Th. Eyquem, *La Femme et le Sport* (Paris, 1944). The first *sportives* were titled amazons like General Boulanger's early sponsor, the Duchesse d'Uzès, or Madame Camille du Gast. Their activities were of a costly and exclusive sort: car and boat races, tennis, fencing (in a special ladies' gymnasium, *chez* Madame Gabrielle), mountain climbing like Andrée Berthelot, or flying like Marie Marvingt.

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sports and national enterprise. From Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days,* which asserted that rugger captains make capital officers, to Rudyard Kipling's *Stalky & Co.,* there seems little doubt that—even more than the battle of Waterloo—the British Empire was won on the playing fields of Eton. Mid-Victorian reformers urged public schoolboys to athletic sports to make them not only manly but also "handy rifle skirmishers." Sporting enthusiasts like Eton's headmaster Edmund Warre sponsored Volunteer battalions as warmly as they did games. Such men apparently succeeded in turning their schools into "splendid institution[s] for the Nation and for the Empire," dedicated to "turn out a hardy and dashing breed of young officers."[58] And Kipling's view that "India's full of Stalkies—Cheltenham and Haileybury and Marlborough chaps" was shared by many French, among them Father Didon, principal of the Dominican College at Arcueil, one of the first among French schools to introduce games for its students. When Father Didon visited Eton in the late 1890s, he remarked that the boys who learned to command in games were learning to command in the Indies.[59]

Why should a society in search of revival not adopt the recipes that had worked elsewhere? There was some irony about the France of the 1890s turning to observations made in the 1860s about innovations of the 1830s. But there was reason, too. Here were challenges that could be proposed to young men in search of a *petite secousse,* not yet confronted by a *grande secousse.* One is struck by the similar language used by advocates of sports and those of colonial life. "Ce ne sont pas les beaux esprits qui partiront pour coloniser Madagascar," wrote a well-known chronicler, "il nous faut *du muscle.*" It is in the colonies, wrote E. M. de Vogüé to Colonel Louis Lyautey, that men can find a real field of action, "reforge their head, their heart, their muscles." It is in the sporting clubs, declared Georges de Saint-Clair, that men of action will be trained, "who know how to will, to dare, to venture, organize, govern and be governed." And when we read of "a school for energy and will," it might as well be a rugby enthusiast as a colonialist who used the phrase.[60] So, after 1903, Louis Hémon, the sports enthusiast, left France first for the wilds of Stepney—whence he brought back the quintessential boxing novel, *Battling Malone*—then for Canada, where he wrote *Maria Chapdelaine* and was crushed by a train while following the rails through Ontario. And Paul Blanchet, the boy who started the first games at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in 1889–90, became an explorer and died on an African expedition.

[58] Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning,* 198, 201.

[59] *Royal Commission on Physical Training for Scotland* (London, 1903), Minute 9628.

[60] Aurelien Scholl, in *Almanach des Sports, 1899,* ii; Louis Lyautey, *Lettres de Tonkin et de Madagascar* (Paris, 1921), 621 (Oct. 2, 1898); see also the revealing quotations in W. B. Cohen, "The Lure of Empire: Why Frenchmen Entered the Colonial Service," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 4, pt. 1 (1969): 103–16; Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique,* 119; and Martin, "Grand Sport," 7.

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Yet, by the turn of the century, games trained young men less for enterprise than for conformism. It was on this score that Kipling railed at his countrymen who "contented [their] souls / With the flanneled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals." And it may be precisely for their power of contenting some souls that anachronistic English recipes appeared exciting. Action, liberation, adventure, and the heroic life were what the colonies seemed to promise. So did sports. Both proposed a way of escape from the drudgery, stultification, and repression of everyday life. Both held out the opportunity to assert oneself, to expend energies little needed or rewarded in the stagnant situation at home. Both reflected a reaction, evident in the little reviews or in the new artistic ventures of the *fin de siècle,* against an aging, listless way of life, but largely in terms of a fat boy's revolt rather than of a rebellion of the downtrodden.[61] For what the hint is worth, the suicide rate for young people nineteen and under rose faster in the years before 1914 than did that of any other age group and higher than it would do in the next three decades.

A facet of contemporary conditions, then, a footnote for the social history of its time? Yes, but with a difference: "The Greeks trained to adapt themselves to their civilization," wrote Jean Prévost in 1925, praising *Les Plaisirs des Sports.* "We train to withstand ours."

[61] For the same story as reflected in the literary activities of the time, see E. Weber, "The Secret World of Jean Barois," in John Weiss, ed., *The Origins of Modern Consciousness* (Detroit, 1965).

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Consciousness and Ideology in American History: The Burden of Daniel J. Boorstin

JOHN P. DIGGINS

> There's something beautifully soothing about a fact—
> even (or perhaps especially) if we're not sure what it means.
> *Daniel J. Boorstin*[1]
>
> Where there is no strain there is no history.
> *R. G. Collingwood*[2]

An absorbing intellectual synthesis lies quietly buried in the work of Daniel J. Boorstin. His approach to history derives from a reified concept, an almost Whitmanesque philosophical credo, and his cheerful vision of the American past makes him one of the most fascinating and controversial scholars of our time. Boorstin's America, like Whitman's, is one of eternal becoming, a polymorphous development with neither fixed structure nor enduring essence. Like the poet he sees rhythm and harmony while others see only tension and discord. Even in the American Civil War Boorstin can discern, as did Whitman, a drama of conflicting wills within which resides a deeper unity of mind. And apparently seeing in the leaven of fact what the poet saw in the leaf of grass, Boorstin has set out to capture nothing less than the *Geist* or "genius" of America. He brings to this bold enterprise a lucid prose that can rise to epigrammatic brilliance and an analytical mind that can probe the most complex relationships in all their ambiguity. Few historians can match Boorstin in analyzing the subtle interactions of context and thought and the dialectical interplay of institutions and behavior; fewer still possess his uncanny ability for discerning a significant experience in an insignificant event, a thoughtful idea in a thoughtless action, a meaningful principle in a meaningless process. Boorstin's investigations of Americans and their institutions, based upon a peculiar methodology that shrewdly avoids the troubling "why" of events, often surpass in depth and nuance the constricting unilateralism of Turner's geographical and Beard's

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1 "More of Everything including the Kitchen Sink," *Harper's*, Mar. 1966, p. 149.

2 *An Essay on Metaphysics* (London, 1940), 75.

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economic determinism. Equally impressive is his boundless ambition. Not since the nineteenth century has a historian tried so passionately to embrace the vastness of American history and to render intelligible even its contradictions; not since Parrington, Turner, and Beard has a historian developed so unifying an interpretation, one that can encompass even what it cannot explain. In an age when some of us are coming to feel that perhaps "meaning" cannot be found in history, it is heartening to read a historian who believes it can.

Yet when one reads closely Boorstin's works—particularly *The Genius of American Politics*[3]—one senses that he is writing history but thinking philosophy. Indeed one senses that there are two Daniel Boorstins—the articulate historian and the philosopher who prefers to keep his premises "inarticulate" (his favorite word). This essay is addressed to the philosopher who has purged American history of theory only by theorizing about American history, and to the historian who has depreciated the role of ideas in it by imposing his ideas upon it.

Perhaps it is time to lay to rest the specter of consensus, which has haunted American historical scholarship since the fifties. Once this *idée fixe* is set aside, *The Genius of American Politics,* despite the author's rapturous assertions and conservative intentions, emerges as a profoundly radical approach to historical understanding. Indeed the "consensus versus conflict" school of thought, which flowered in large part as a response to Boorstin's work, may have seasoned American historiography with a false scent. For the origins of Boorstin's thesis lie neither in a close investigation of the social structure of American history nor in a rigorous comparative analysis of American and European thought. Rather, Boorstin's explanation of America's genius derives from the supposedly unique qualities of the American mind that presumably have exempted the American past from the ideological delusions of "our sick friends in Europe."[4] One effort of this paper is to suggest that Boorstin's "reflections on American thought"[5] fail to explain the absence of ideological conflict in American history. Not that he has ignored such evidence of conflict, as his critics have charged. On the contrary, Boorstin's thesis is unconvincing because his own theory of history bears so much resemblance to the very European philosophies that created the age of ideology. When closely examined on his own terms, Boorstin's distinction between America and Europe is a distinction without a difference.

At the core of Boorstin's elaborate thesis is the problem of knowledge, of how Americans historically have thought and acted. Accordingly, the distinctive quality of Americans was their amazing capacity to think pragmatically. Untroubled by the classical issues of European philosophy, Americans possessed an instinct for practical, problem-solving behavior.

[3] *The Genius of American Politics* (hereafter *GAP*) (Phoenix ed.; Chicago, 1958).

[4] *GAP,* 183.

[5] The subtitle of Boorstin's *America and the Image of Europe* (hereafter *AIE*) (Meridian ed.; Cleveland, 1960).

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Americans were natural empiricists, responsive only to the rhythms of nature and to the facts of environment. And since the American landscape was the basic reality dominating the visions of mind, Americans could allow human thought to be shaped by the natural world because they assumed that subjective values were "given" in that objective world. In a word, the sense of "givenness" enabled Americans to assume that the values of the past were forever being perpetuated while simultaneously arising anew in the present. This assumption led Americans to believe that they could live by natural fact alone, by context rather than by concept, by process rather than by principle. Moreover, because Americans believed that no dualism existed between fact and value, because they believed that the descriptive merged with the normative, because they believed that the "is" would determine the "ought," Americans simply dismissed all political and social theory as superfluous. Even the Enlightenment, Boorstin insists, was only a myth in America, an invention of latter-day professors who are content to do what is "academically very convenient"—interpret the "thoughts of our philosophically inarticulate Founding Fathers by simply letting the European *philosophes* speak for them." American scholars are unwilling to confess the intellectual poverty of their forebears, Boorstin complains, because of their inferiority complex ("cultural hypochondria") toward Europe. American historians are in the grip of an intellectual pride that forbids them to admit that their history is "doctrinally naked." And yet it is this sublime innocence of all speculative and normative theory that constitutes the essence of the American genius. It is the redeeming ignorance of the American mind that has blessed America with so much continuity and homogeneity and thereby insulated it from the ideological conflicts of Europe.[6]

The problem with Boorstin's thesis is not merely that it is questionable in light of various episodes in American intellectual history. The real difficulty is that his rejection of the role of theory and ideas in American history itself rests on a scaffolding of theoretical ideas that is as much European as American. Boorstin is a philosopher of history in spite of himself, and the ideas with which he demonstrates the absence of ideas in American history are as rich and abstract as the European philosophies he finds so repugnant and un-American.

Consider, for example, Boorstin's concept of "the preformation ideal." According to this notion, Americans have assumed that values were given by history because they believed that in the past there existed a "perfectly preformed theory" that rendered unnecessary all subsequent reflection on the nature and future of America.[7] What seems clearly embedded in this

[6] *GAP*, 1–35, 161–89, *passim*; *AIE*, 65, 123.

[7] "This particular aspect of the 'givenness' idea may be likened to the obsolete biological notion of 'preformation.' That is the idea that all parts of an organism pre-exist in perfect miniature in the seed. . . . The notion is essentially static. It assumes that the values and theory of the nation were given once and for all in the very beginning." *GAP*, 10–11.

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concept is the Hegelian metaphysics of history, which infused nineteenth-century European thought. With Hegel, Boorstin presupposes a self-contained, "embryonic" idea at work in history from the very beginning, an "exoskeleton" image, which led Americans to believe that they were growing not out of but into a theory.[8] Similarly, one finds in Boorstin's prose many of the same morphological metaphors: Hegel's familiar description of the organic unity of the "bud" and the "blossom"—of the continuity behind all change—has its curious echo in Boorstin's worship of "the unity of our history" and in his assertion that American institutions were not conceived but somehow sprouted as "organisms which grow out of the soil in which they are rooted and out of the tradition from which they have sprung."[9] It is not surprising, therefore, that Boorstin consistently avoids the problems of causation, believing that history is the study of processes and that its meaning is to be found in the unfolding of experience.[10] Nor is it surprising that Boorstin and Hegel share a common axiological premise: since history and philosophy are contradictory, and since the empirical and the ideal are therefore one and the same, we can proceed, Hegel advised, upon the assumption that in historical study "thought must be subordinated to what is given, to the realities of fact; this is its basis and guide."[11] Boorstin also proceeds upon this assumption, and his failure to draw the crucial distinction between fact and value carries with it the same fatalism implicit in Hegel's dictum that "the rational is actual; and the actual is rational."[12] Significantly, one finds in *The Genius of American Politics*, and in many of Boorstin's other works, no wise and courageous losers, no agonizing second thoughts about might-have-beens, no brooding over historical alternatives to the given. What happened, happened; those who survived, survived.

In discussing American Puritanism, then, Boorstin is certain that the Puritans survived—indeed succeeded—because they came to accept the "growing sense of 'givenness,' the growing tendency to make the 'is' the guide to the 'ought,' to make America as it was (or as they had now made it) a criterion of what America might be."[13] This single proposition is replete with metaphysical assumptions. Above all, Boorstin has rejected the distinction between subject and object, between the Puritans' self-conscious

[8] "Our theory of society is thus conceived as a kind of exoskeleton, like the shell of a lobster. We think of ourselves as growing *into* our skeleton, filling it out with the experience and resources of recent ages. But we always suppose that the outlines were rigidly drawn in the beginning." *GAP*, 16.

[9] *GAP*, 6, 33.

[10] In *The Genius of American Politics* Boorstin continually informs the reader that he is concerned not with why but how events came to pass. Even in discussing the Civil War Boorstin avoids the complex motives of the sectional controversy by directing our "attention not so much to the causes of the conflict as to the framework of debate" (p. 100).

[11] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, tr. J. Sibree (Dover ed.; New York, 1956), 8.

[12] "The Philosophy of Right and Law," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *The Philosophy of Hegel* (New York, 1953), 224.

[13] *GAP*, 38.

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spiritual quest and the American environment that deflected that quest as they worked upon its materials. Boorstin may be correct in believing that the Puritans recognized and adapted themselves to the reality of the American environment even as they changed that reality. But does not this union of subject and object constitute a dialectical contradiction of the "will" of history? Can a people be transformed by the very reality they themselves have transformed? Although the early Puritans doubted that man could change his own nature by changing the natural world, Boorstin seems certain that the first Americans were primarily doers and makers, men of self-actualizing activity who realized that "nature had to be mastered before society could even survive."[14] It is this unspoken metaphysical premise about man's nature that enables Boorstin to interpret the failure of Puritanism as the fulfillment of Puritanism. In truth, Boorstin is terribly anxious to de-Europeanize his Puritans, and in so doing he necessarily denies them their intrinsic spiritual nature, their heroic quest for "Being." He assumes that the Puritans were all along not what they conceived themselves to be but what they made of themselves. For Boorstin, man has no essence; he is what he becomes. In his approach to history, meaning is therefore to be found in becoming, and in the context of his writings this means nothing less than the endless process of becoming American.[15] Despite this truncated Hegelianism, however, there remains in Boorstin's philosophy of history the same blurring of the dualism between being and becoming, the same unity of the opposites "is" and "ought," and even the same "cunning of reason."[16] Although the Puritans became what they set out not to be, they achieved their historical purpose, as Boorstin would have it, in the obliteration of their spiritual purpose. "Puritanism in New England," Boorstin contends, "was to decline, not because it was defeated, but, in a sense, because it had succeeded."[17] What Puritanism succeeded in was the negation of its theology and the realization of the theory beyond theory, the idea of "givenness" that Boorstin assumes to have been inherent in both Puritanism and in the nature of America.

The concept of "givenness" brooks no historical contradictions: all is process and continuity toward an end that is only a beginning. Hence Boorstin must ignore the teleological essence of Puritanism in order to make

[14] *GAP*, 65.

[15] "The nation was beginning not at one time or place, but again and again, under men's very eyes." Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (hereafter *NE*) (Vintage ed.; New York, 1965), v. In view of the ontological unity Boorstin imposes upon the Puritans, Perry Miller's advice on how one should approach an understanding of the Puritans cannot be ignored: "The moral of these reflections may very well be that it is dangerous to read history backwards, to interpret something that was by what it ultimately became, particularly when it became several things." Perry Miller, introduction to Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (Torchbook ed.; New York, 1963), 5.

[16] "In all this we shall see how the New England story re-enacted one of the familiar ironies of history: in the very act of establishing their community, they undermined the philosophy on which it was to have been founded." *GAP*, 52–53.

[17] *GAP*, 52.

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the New England Puritans a direct part of the American experience. By the same reasoning, Boorstin can treat Puritanism as a mere prelude to American pragmatism because to him the problem of identity, like the problem of value, is simply a nonproblem. Self-realization in America, Boorstin is convinced, is achieved in "absorption," "oblivion," and "self-annihilation"; it is consummated in the "loss of identity." Americanization, then, is the attainment of a sense of "oneness,"[18] a state of being that, to paraphrase Marx, enables us to abolish philosophy because it has been realized in history. In short, since Boorstin believes that man is both the subject and object of history, the problem of identity becomes superfluous; and because he believes that the problem of meaning must be rooted only in historical existence, Boorstin's "preformation ideal" presupposes what Herbert Marcuse has called the "immanent historical necessity of historicity"—the antidualist notion that the causes of historical development lie both in the object and grow out of it.[19] Thus shorn of its covert mysticism, the claim for "givenness" absorbs the classical dualisms of philosophy no less than did Hegel's metaphysics; and just as Hegelianism lent itself to both revolutionary and reactionary interpretations, Boorstin's philosophy contains radical as well as conservative implications. These implications become apparent in his one-sided notion of theory. For Boorstin's conviction that "givenness" precludes the need for theory fails to consider that there are two theories of theory. On the one hand theory can be prescriptive, in which case it invokes normative goals based on binding moral ideals. The second idea of theory takes ethics as given, for it is based solely on the will and power to transform reality with no regard for the moral demands of the "ought." And it is this radical concept of theory as an action-oriented idea that underlies Boorstin's assumptions as well as those of Marx.

More specifically, Boorstin's pragmatic faith in the context and "implicitness of ideas," which he defines as the American "tendency to leave ideas embodied in experience and a belief that truth somehow arises out of experience,"[20] is curiously close to the Marxist theory of cognition, which likewise insists that truth is realized only in practical effort. Indeed Boorstin's Jeffersonian conviction that the major function of philosophy is "prophylactic"—to dispel "the perils of metaphysics"—is strikingly similar to Marx's conviction that true philosophy is *praxis*—to reorient the mind from abstract reflection to concrete activity. The affinity is unmistakable when one compares Boorstin's analysis of Jefferson's intellect with Marx's critique of Ludwig Feuerbach. In the former work we read of Jefferson's "scrupulous respect for sensible experience," for the "processes of action [that] were immediately and undeniably good"; in the latter we are told

[18] *AIE*, 59–60.

[19] Herbert Marcuse, "Contributions to a Phenomenology of Historical Materialism" (1928), translated and reprinted in *Telos*, no. 4 (1969): 20.

[20] *AIE*, 58–59.

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that it is "*human sensuous activity, practice*" that alone liberates consciousness.[21] These verbal parallels are more than coincidental. They derive from the common premise that action is a realm of knowledge and value higher than thought itself. And from this premise emerges the strangest consensus in recent American historiography: for Marx the abstract concepts of mind served mainly to delude man and thereby to preserve the social order; for Boorstin such concepts serve mainly to erode "a sense for the 'seamlessness' of experience" and thereby radically to undermine the continuity of institutions.[22] Assuming that theoretical man is the enemy, it is thus imperative that Marx as revolutionary and Boorstin as conservative reject the demands of ethical thought and the claims of autonomous ideas in history. The irony is that both historians, each starting from the same premise but with different political ends in view, arrive at the conclusion that the reality of the past is not to be plumbed by intellectual history or pondered by the historian of ideas. This conclusion is neither distinctly American nor peculiarly conservative. Boorstin dismisses America's Enlightenment ideology as pure myth; but it was Marx and Engels, we should remember, who first dismissed Germany's Enlightenment ideology as the "*illusion of that epoch.*"[23]

The awesome challenge facing Boorstin is nothing less than the problem of consciousness, of bringing Americans to a deeper appreciation and awareness of the meaning and direction of their history. Yet Boorstin's ideas about history rest precariously on two incompatible premises. With Hegel, Boorstin asks us to accept the "normative significance" of the past, to accept the empirically real as the American ideal.[24] Once we see that what was actual had to determine what was possible, and once we become aware that no human theory was at work in American history, then we shall realize that the full meaning of that history can be grasped only by understanding its development. With Marx, on the other hand, Boorstin asks us to accept the ontological supremacy of doing over being and the epistemological primacy of action over thought. He asks us to accept, that is, a pragmatic theory of knowledge, which leads to the conclusion that history is to be grasped not merely by comprehending it but by changing it. Boorstin may reject theory in American history, but his own sense of history is an unexamined theoretical synthesis that collapses into a political embarrassment.

In a euphoric moment, Boorstin has maintained that the "nirvana of success" in America has been "self-annihilation through mastery and adaptation." As in Buddhism, "the characteristic notion of bliss developed on the American continent involves a comparable process of absorption and loss of identity. But here that oneness is attained by complete adaptation to the

[21] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (Beacon ed.; Boston, 1960), 128–39, 150; Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*, ed. C. P. Dutt (New York, 1935), 73.

[22] *GAP*, 175.

[23] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow, 1964), 51.

[24] *GAP*, 22.

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environment which involves seizing the opportunities which it offers, by 'fitting in.' "[25] Presented in these mystifying terms, Boorstin's sense of history suggests an almost romantic union of man with nature. In American history, however, this Emersonian oneness was more willed than actual. Adaptation and mastery are mutually exclusive. Forced to choose between the two, Americans chose not to adapt to but to master their environment. The capitalist, wrote Marx, willed the "subjection of nature's forces to man and machinery." Man, noted Locke, is an "appropriating" animal who, commanded by God to "subdue the earth," assaults nature and wrests wealth from her. The American, observed Tocqueville, has all but made "immutable Nature herself . . . mutable, such are the changes worked upon her by the hand of man."[26] Rather than be satisfied with a "complete adaptation to the environment," Americans strove to change it radically; and in terms of material progress nature was not a source of values but merely a dreary obstacle to be overcome.[27] It would seem truer to say, then, that in American history there has been a profound discontinuity between man and his environment, a perpetual divorce of humankind from the unity of nature, an alienation that disgusted even the usually tolerant Franklin.[28]

Boorstin recognizes man's estrangement from nature, for he does not deny that Americans have felt urgently compelled to act upon the materials of earth. In his magnificent analysis of Jefferson's "lost world," he stresses that Jefferson was certain morality could not be founded in human theory but only in the "life of action."[29] Boorstin has come to accept this philosophy completely. His hero is not John Milton but Paul Bunyan, not thinking man but man in motion. Curiously, it is precisely this activist theory of knowledge and life, this recognition of man's utter restlessness against the constancy of nature, that is the channelizing ethos of communism as well as of capitalism. That the meaning and value of life must be found in action is the faith of the Stakhanovite as well as of the rugged individualist. Whether the search is for socialism or salvation, both the Marxist and the Protestant work ethic invoke an attitude of ceaseless striving.[30] Given the Marxist

[25] *AIE,* 59–60.

[26] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in Arthur P. Mendel, ed., *Essential Works of Marxism* (New York, 1961), 17; John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government,* ed. Thomas P. Peardon (New York, 1952), 18–20; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1945), 2: 239.

[27] Roderick Nash, *The Concept of Wilderness in the American Mind* (New Haven, 1967), 21–43, *passim.*

[28] See Franklin to Joseph Priestly, June 7, 1782, in Adrienne Koch, ed., *The American Enlightenment* (New York, 1965), 94.

[29] *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson,* 140–51.

[30] Speaking of the philosophical arguments for work in the Soviet Union, Father Gustave Wetter writes: "They are more than merely attempts to rationalize the economy on a gigantic scale. They are regarded much more as that 'actualization of philosophy,' that extension of philosophy into real life, of which Marx himself spoke. This conviction, that the Idea must be realized in life, that truth must be conceived, not in a theoretical sense merely, but as a living aspect of practical endeavor, accounts for the pathos, the pseudo-religious ceremony with which labor is invested under the bolshevik regime." *Dialectical Materialism: A Historical and Systematic Survey of Philosophy in the Soviet Union,* tr. Peter Heath (New York, 1963), 267. For a

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and the pragmatist attitude toward human nature, this common behavior is not surprising. When Antonio Gramsci asks "What is man?" and tells us "we really mean 'What can man become?' " and then answers that "man is a process, and precisely the process of his actions," is not this Boorstin's definition of the American character? Similarly, when Boorstin declares that America "would long profit from having been born without ever having been conceived," one recalls George Plekhanov telling us that *"Being* determines *thinking."* Or when we read that Marxism does not proceed from principles but from facts and that there exists a dialectic of nature, we boggle no less at Engels' faith in the moral sufficiency of empirical facts than at Boorstin's faith in the moral plenitude of the American environment. Or, finally, when we are told that the genius of Americans is their belief in the union of the "is" and the "ought," we are tempted to ask what is the genius of the Marxist who believes in the "law of the transformation of quantity into quality."[31]

To be sure, these comparisons are overdrawn, but perhaps no more so than Boorstin's incessant contrasting of American practicality with European ideology. Historical understanding consists in perceiving similarities as well as differences, particularly when the differences may only be semantic. The comparisons above are made merely to suggest that the compatibility between Boorstin's pragmatic naturalism and European Marxism is greater than he would perhaps care to acknowledge.[32] Indeed E. H. Carr has spent much of his scholarly career justifying Soviet Russia with arguments resting upon the same philosophical assumptions Boorstin draws upon to explain the American past. Carr still shares the pre-1914 faith in technological progress that has enchanted America, and he is convinced that Soviet history demonstrates that quantity can be transformed into quality through revolutionary social change and that "values can be derived from facts." Both Carr and Boorstin believe that history is nothing more than process; both regard progress as mastery of the environment; and both, significantly, im-

discussion of the "Calvinist work morale" in Soviet Russia, see also Herbert Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1961), 222–23.

[31] Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (New York, 1968), 76; Boorstin, *NE,* 219; George V. Plekhanov, *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (New York, 1969), 57. It could be said that Boorstin has done to American history what Engels did to Marxist philosophy—replace the conscious activity of mind for blind faith in facts. For an excellent discussion of Engels' "hopeless undertaking" of joining the "is" and the "ought," see George Lichtheim, *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York, 1961), 234–58.

[32] Each assumes the naturalistic supremacy of doing over being; each assumes that the knowing process is a practical, transforming activity; and each is strongly opposed to traditional philosophical dualism. These affinities go far toward explaining what Max Eastman called the "Americanization of Marxism" by the pragmatic Left of the thirties. See, for example, Sidney Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation* (New York, 1933); and *idem,* "The Philosophical Basis of Marxian Socialism in the United States," in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton, 1952), 1: 429–51; see also Eastman's criticisms of Hook in his *Marxism is it Science* (New York, 1940), 299–350.

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pose a pragmatic judgment on history, siding always with the winners and maintaining that history is nothing if not "a success story."[33]

These comparisons are not meant to imply that Daniel Boorstin is an unconscious Marxist. They are made only to suggest that when a conservative and a radical historian use a common philosophy of history to arrive at strikingly different conclusions it is time we re-examine our assumptions about the uniqueness of the American mind. Boorstin is preoccupied with what the Old Left called American "exceptionalism." Apparently he is convinced that he has found the key to the riddle of uniqueness in America's antitheoretical habit of mind, which in turn sprang from the country's geographical vagueness, its cultural unity, its diffuse intellectual life, its institutional continuity, its success criterion, and its ingenious people who can live by process alone. And the combination of these traits, Boorstin is certain, has nurtured an anti-ideological mentality, which is America's surest safeguard against the appeals of European totalitarianism.

> The tendency to abstract the principles of political life may sharpen issues for the political philosopher. It becomes idolatry when it provides statesmen or a people with a blueprint for their society. The characteristic tyrannies of our age—nazism, fascism, and communism—have expressed precisely this idolatry. They justify their outrages because their "philosophies" require them.[34]

Such may be the conventional wisdom, but the truth is that Boorstin has seriously misinterpreted both the nature and appeal of European totalitarian ideologies.

It would be tedious to recount here the story of America's response to fascism and communism. But it may be recalled that the Americans who waxed lyrical about Mussolini saw in fascism a marvelous, pragmatic experiment, and those who were captivated by Lenin and Stalin saw in Bolshevism an exciting scientific adventure.[35] Lest we share with Boorstin

[33] Literally, Carr states: "We are assured on all hands, and with the utmost emphasis, that the dichotomy between 'is' and 'ought' is absolute and cannot be resolved, that 'values' cannot be derived from 'facts.' This is, I think, a false trail." *What is History?* (New York, 1964), 167; see also 173–74, and his conversations in Ved Mehta, *Fly and the Fly Bottle* (Penguin ed.; Baltimore, 1965), 155–61. To my knowledge, the first American to grapple with the axiological pitfalls in Marxism was the pragmatist Sidney Hook in "Marxism and Values," *The Marxist Quarterly*, 1 (1937): 38–45.

[34] *GAP*, 3; see also *AIE*, 43–51.

[35] John P. Diggins, "Flirtation With Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy," *AHR*, 71 (1966): 487–506; Lewis S. Feuer, "Travelers to the Soviet Union: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, 14 (1962): 119–42. Philosophically, it is difficult to see how Americans could have reacted otherwise. Mussolini announced the "pragmatic veins in Fascism" as the dynamism of movement and action; Lenin proclaimed that "what our practice confirms is the sole, ultimate and objective truth"; Trotsky advised American radicals to approach all problems as "*processes* and not as *motionless categories*"; and, more recently, Professor Marcuse tells us that the "silence" of paralyzing metaphysical problems can be "broken by action." Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism," in Carl Cohen, ed., *Communism, Fascism, and Democracy: The Theoretical Foundations* (New York, 1962), 349–64; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 14: *Materialism and Empirico-Criticism* (Moscow, 1962), 143;

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the attitude that only intellectuals are taken in by European ideologies, it is worth recalling the reaction of Henry Ford to the Soviet Union. In explaining his dealings with Russia this hardest of hardheaded Americans advised that the "universe is set in a certain direction and when you go along with it, that is 'goodness' "; that "rightness in mechanics, rightness in morals, are basically the same thing"; and that "Russia is beginning to build. It makes little difference what theory is back of the real work, for in the long run facts will control."[36] This blithe indifference to theory and blind faith in facts, this cult of action over doctrine, this mindlessness about values is no doubt "givenness" personified, gloriously impervious to philosophy, hopelessly naive about ideology.

An even more revealing response to Soviet Russia is found in Joseph Wood Krutch's *The Modern Temper*, written in 1929. Here Krutch described communism and the Russian people in terms identical to those in which Boorstin has described America and the American character. The Russians were the one people, Krutch was convinced, who were not beset by the philosophical problems plaguing Western man. Because they have a task to perform—the transforming of a backward environment—there is in Russia "little temptation to ask ultimate questions as long as there are many tangible things to do and plenty of energy to do them with." Like Boorstin's Americans, Krutch's Russians experienced no "fundamental maladjustments" between the "human spirit and the natural universe." Completely absorbed in labor, they were at one with themselves because they had become all technique and process. Boorstin has argued that the

> oblivion of Nirvana and the oblivion of success have much in common. . . . The desire to master the forces of nature, to wrest from the environment all the wealth it holds, to find all possible uses of every material . . . make[s] the social norm not the fulfillment of some preconceived, philosophy-sharpened ideal, but the fulfillment of the possibilities in the situation, the attainment of compromise.

Hence nirvana in America means that "the individual transcends his own personality to become part of what surrounds him." This same illusion of self-transcendence, of practical salvation through the process of work, of finding in action what eludes one in thought, characterized Krutch's description of the "good Communist" for whom "any question concerning the meaning of life is itself completely meaningless. . . ." Ironically, the deified naturalism that Krutch found so disturbing in Russian communism becomes in Boorstin's eyes the health of the American character.[37]

Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism (against the petty-bourgeois opposition)* (Merit Publishers ed.; New York, 1965), 54; Herbert Marcuse, *Negations* (Boston, 1968), 240.

[36] Ford is quoted in Peter Filene's illuminating study, *Americans and the Soviet Experiment* (Cambridge, 1967), 121–23. Filene notes that "Ford carried pragmatism to the point at which, in a crude way, it resembled the historicism of the Marxist system" (p. 123).

[37] *AIE*, 60; Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1956), 162–67.

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Krutch's observations raise important questions relating to the putative contrast between American pragmatism and European ideology. When did Soviet Russia's image in America change from an ongoing, brave experiment of men and machines into a political nightmare? When did Americans begin to assume that in Russia the urge to theorize had stifled the instinct for practicality? When did ideology take on a petrified cast and become the bugbear of the American mind? Clearly the new ideological image became popular during the cold war, but for many American intellectuals it was first created by the fantastic debates among the faction-ridden Old Left. It appears that ideology became an opprobrious term as a result of the American radicals' reactions to Stalin's betrayals and to those woolly arguments over social fascism, dialectical materialism, and bureaucratic collectivism that hypnotized the generation of the thirties—the generation in which Boorstin received his political baptism. And from these confrontations the notion emerged that ideology was a synonym for a static doctrine, for a rigidly abstract theory conceived by those who craved a total *Weltanschauung*. But this image of ideology is peculiarly American and has little to do with the real function of ideology in European politics.[38] In this respect it seems that when Boorstin assails European ideology he may have in mind the intellectual foibles of American fellow travelers rather than a clear perception of the nature of ideology itself.

Professor Boorstin is not the only historian of that generation with an animus against ideology and an abiding faith in pragmatism. In a shrewd discussion of this problem Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has recapitulated Boorstin's thesis by declaring that "our national faith has been not in propositions but in processes. In its finest hours, the United States has, so to speak, risen above ideology." He then draws a sharp distinction between the pragmatist and the ideologist. While they often commit the same errors, the ideologist is mainly subservient to abstractions and the pragmatist to experience. When experience collides with abstractions it is only the pragmatist who responds to experience while the ideologist remains hooked on theoretical ideas. The trouble with ideology, Schlesinger thus concludes, is that it is only a picture or a "model" derived from "actuality." Even though we all have occasion to use models in rational discourse, the "ideological fallacy is to forget that ideology is an abstraction from reality and to regard it as reality itself."[39]

The weakness in Schlesinger's argument, it seems to me, is that he is himself building models to reveal the danger of models. The elusive terms in his description are "actuality" and "reality." The question to ask is what is really actual and what is actually real? If ideology is regarded as unrealistic, the crucial question, as Karl Mannheim observed, is "unrealistic

[38] See the debate among Daniel Bell, Carl J. Friedrich, and George Lichtheim, "Ideology and Politics: Discussion," *Slavic Review: American Quarterly of Soviet and East European Studies*, 24 (1965): 591–621.

[39] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Epilogue: The One against the Many," in *idem* and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston, 1963), 531–38.

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with reference to what?"[40] Obviously, for Schlesinger, Boorstin, and other pragmatic liberals, the answer is, with reference to the United States. For when these historians speak of the abstract nature of ideology they are probably speaking to the American Marxist Old Left, whose political positions during the thirties were disasterously wrong because they, like the Founding Fathers, lost sight of Locke and tried, as Louis Hartz argues, to transpose European social categories to American realities; and because they, unlike the Founding Fathers, did not even have the good fortune to see their conclusions proved correct even though their premises were wrong.[41]

Like Schlesinger, Boorstin also regards ideology as a form of cerebral abstractionism, a fixed and rigid vision, a "posture of truth which some men see in one age and which they seek to get other men to accept as the whole truth." But whereas Schlesinger admits that all peoples have a weakness for ideology, Boorstin regards it as the peculiar curse of Europeans. Continental philosophers "classify themselves as disciples of dead centuries," Boorstin maintains; thus "all intellectual life becomes a museum of past ideologies." And because European thinkers are elitist and therefore alienated from institutions, "the intellectual life of the community becomes one with the speculations of its visionaries and the vagaries of its metaphysicians. And this is true in most of the countries of Europe." The dichotomy Boorstin draws between American pragmatism and European ideology almost verges on caricature, for, ironically, the functional nature of ideology corresponds to Boorstin's own philosophy of history and partakes of what he calls America's "naturalistic approach to values." Let us examine the consequences of this naturalization of values in light of the meaning of ideology.[42]

To regard the factual as the normative, to assume that the "ought" derives from the "is," to believe that process is actually fulfillment, and to accept Boorstin's "success criterion" for ideas—does not this come perilously close to bestowing upon every victor the blessing of history? Are the victors, then, responding to abstractions or to experience, to doctrine or to fact, to principles or to precedent, to the demands of philosophy or to the pressures of history? In reality, such a dichotomous formulation poses a false problem, for it severs theory from practice, idea from deed, thought from action. And in modern intellectual history the erosion of these traditional

[40] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (Harvest ed.; New York, n.d.), 72.

[41] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1955), 86. In this connection one might compare Clinton Rossiter's advice to that of John P. Roche. Speaking of Marxism, Rossiter maintains that "everything in it, as we learned in 1932, forbids most Americans to turn to Marx even in their desperate hours." *Marxism: The View from America* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1960), 8. Discussing the "pluralistic intolerance," the "consensual authoritarianism," and the "retrospective symmetry" of recent American historiography, Roche states: "Regrettably, the scholarly revolt against Marxism threw out the baby with the bath water." Introduction to John P. Roche, ed., *Origins of American Political Thought* (New York, 1967), 8–17.

[42] *AIE*, 52, 57; *GAP*, 25.

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epistemological dualisms has rendered the ideologist almost indistinguishable from the pragmatist.[43]

Boorstin's dramatic contrast between America and Europe is not so wrongly perceived as it is poorly explained. He believes that America's pragmatic instincts developed from the historical absence of political theory, whereas Europe's ideological habits derived from its stultifying philosophical traditions. What this explanation overlooks is that modern European ideology was not so much the fruit of philosophy as the revolt against formalistic thought, not the tyranny of theory but the liberation from abstract theory.[44] To appreciate the American past Boorstin advises us to study not the treatises but the "inchoate idea" and the "pregnant chaos." This is sound advice, but it should be applied to Europe as well. Boorstin does not bother to explain just how European ideology impelled thought and behavior; he merely assumes it did by ascribing to European ideas a moving power he denies to American thought. Moreover, if we paid some attention to how European ideologies functioned we would, I believe, find that ideology is hardly alien to Boorstin's own philosophical premises. Ideology is not the chaining of mind to deductive treatises and systems, as Boorstin suggests; nor does it necessarily arise in those "more metaphysically minded countries" in which styles of thought are "judged by their intellectual consistency and aesthetic appeal."[45] On the contrary, ideology is the release of thought from abstract contemplation; its criterion is not intellectual consistency but emotional intensity; its appeal is not that of esthetics but of power. The dynamism of ideology is such that it functions less as philosophy than as the activization of philosophy.[46] Now there is little doubt that polemical connotations have come to surround the concept of ideology and to create serious semantic problems.[47] Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the con-

[43] I have attempted a fuller discussion of this argument in "Pragmatism and Ideology: Philosophy or Passion?" *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970): 899–906.

[44] Once the debate over ideology arose in the nineteenth century there could no longer be a sharp distinction between the ideologist and the pragmatist, for pragmatism was implicit in the very label "ideological" since it compelled the man of ideas to prove that his thoughts could be realized in practice. As Mannheim so shrewdly perceived, the perjorative use of the term negated the idea itself. Attacked as being doctrinaire, the ideologist was perforce driven to accept the premise that, in Mannheim's words, "the only access to reality is to be sought in practical activity." The man of ideas therefore became the man of action, making "pragmatism" the "inevitable and appropriate outlook" for "modern man." Ideology thus produced something of an epistemological and ontological revolution in political philosophy, "a decisive turn in the formulation of the problem of the nature of reality." Writing in the twenties, Mannheim observed that "at present the criterion of reality is found primarily in an ontology derived from political experience. The history of the concept of ideology from Napoleon to Marxism, despite changes in content, has retained the same political criterion of reality. The historical example shows, at the same time, that the pragmatic point of view was already implicit in the accusation which Napoleon hurled at his adversaries." *Ideology and Utopia*, 72–73.

[45] *AIE*, 57, 71.

[46] Defining ideology as the "conversion of ideas into social levers," Daniel Bell writes: "For the ideologue, truth arises in action, and meaning is given to experience by the 'transforming moment.' He comes alive not in contemplation, but in 'deed.'" *The End of Ideology* (Collier ed.; New York, 1961), 394–95.

[47] The problems of definition are touched upon in the essays by David Apter, Reinhold Bendix, and Clifford Geertz in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York, 1964); a

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clusion that the ideologist, insofar as he assumes that action is a process of knowing and deed the fulfillment of thought, is himself not without a sense of "givenness."

Professor Boorstin once remarked, in speaking before the House Un-American Activities Committee, that he has been endeavoring "to discover and explain to students in my teaching and in my writing, the unique virtues of American democracy."[48] Fortunately for Boorstin, few if any God-fearing members of the HUAC have read his works, while many who have, like his New Left critics, miss the point. Explaining the "unique virtues of American democracy" has been the magisterial effort of nearly all of Boorstin's learned writings. It is a courageous endeavor even though he may feel, in view of some harsh and not always informed criticism, that it is a lonely and thankless task. But whereas Boorstin urges us to reconsider the place of ideas in American history, I suggest we reconsider the ideas implicit in Boorstin's history. For the more I try to follow his argument the more I am convinced that his naturalistic premises defeat his purpose. In arguing that values are given by the environment and by the past, Boorstin has reduced history to nature and experience; and in so doing he has confined ethics to precisely that natural world from which philosophers have sought to rescue it. The implications are far-reaching; if the American experience is historically unique, then in American terms so is that of Europe; and if we accept the "givenness" of values in the nature of experience, it follows that whatever happens in history—in Europe as well as in America—is not something that "ought" to have happened but something that happens simply as matter of "fact." To locate the causal efficacy of history in the material realm, and to subsume the place of ideas in "the unpredicted whisperings of environment,"[49] we have no alternative but to accept the necessity of events. A history without moral dimension is a history without human causation, and hence what is natural is what occurs and what occurs is natural. The upshot, it seems to me, is that unless we are willing to forsake pragmatic naturalism and reinvoke the Providential nationalism of George Bancroft, and declare with Bancroft that the value-impregnated American land is a God-given blessing, then we must be willing to concede that Marxism embodies the same naturalistic theory of

taxonomic study is offered by Arne Naess, *Democracy, Ideology and Objectivity: Studies in the Semantics and Cognitive Analysis of Ideologic Controversy* (Oslo, 1956); for a learned essay suggesting the pragmatic character in both the Marxist and liberal ideologies of rational control, see George Lichtheim, *The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1967), 3–46; for a discussion of the "end of ideology" debate, see Jean Maynaud, *Destin des idéologies* (Lausanne, 1961).

[48] U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Communist Methods of Infiltration (Education), Hearings*, 83d Cong., 1st sess., 1953, pt. 1: 52.

[49] "If philosophy denied the innuendoes of experience, the philosophy—not the experience—must be rejected. Therefore, a man's mind was wholesome not when it possessed the most refined implements for dissecting and ordering all knowledge, but when it was most sensitive to the unpredicted whisperings of environment." Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1958), 152.

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values and pragmatic politics that Boorstin believes to be nature's gift to America. It is an awkward predicament: we can either go back to Bancroft, accept the philosophical premises of Marxism, or give up "givenness."[50]

Whether Boorstin will himself choose the latter course is a question worth pursuing. The pattern of his writings suggests he has had some doubts about his thesis. Only two instances will be cited here. In *The Genius of American Politics* (1953) Boorstin was determined to project his thesis of consensus and continuity even upon a period as disruptive as the Civil War. According to his interpretation, since both North and South grounded their respective arguments in the language of facts and statistics, America's anti-theoretical wisdom survived the sectional crisis. Even an excruciating moral issue like slavery was approached not as a question of ideology or ethics but simply as a problem in "descriptive sociology." Thus the collapse of the Union is really a study of "the spirit of compromise," for it provides "another example of the recurrent tendency in American history to identify the 'is' with the 'ought,' to think of values and a theory of society as implicit in facts about society." In *The National Experience* (1965), however, Boorstin finds himself obliged to indict the South for indulging in "metaphysical politics." No longer are Southerners typical American empiricists; they now emerge as apologists for biological and racial theory, reactionary dreamers whose code of honor made them believe they could maintain a changeless society in the face of a changing public opinion. Moreover, by assuming a social order of identical interests immune to disturbing alien ideas, Southerners took flight from reality and produced not a sociology as Boorstin earlier argued but a flowering of political theory. What is significant is not merely that a new South appears in the later work but that Boorstin implicitly concedes the shortcomings of his own philosophy. He now admits that in the South "this seeming identity of things as they were with things as they ought to be, came from a vision of society without conflict," while in "New England the sharp awareness of conflicting interests produced a reforming effervescence." What was formerly the American genius, then, became the fatal nemesis of a homogeneous South where the arts of compromise had gone unappreciated. The South suffered from too much consensus and not enough conflict.[51]

The Boorstinian edifice also seems to have suffered erosion in *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (1962). In this brilliantly disturbing study of the hypocrisy and self-deception of mass media tech-

[50] This is not the only way out, of course; but it is difficult to imagine Boorstin moving "forward" to existentialism or humanism, which seems to be the direction taken by some contemporary Marxists who, at last, are conceding the fact-value cul-de-sac. See, for example, Leszek Kolakowski, *Toward a Marxist Humanism: Essays on the Left Today* (New York, 1969), 58–66.

[51] *GAP,* 99–132; *NE,* 199–218; see also Boorstin's comments on Southern social philosophy in his bibliography, *NE,* 469–70.

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nology in America, Boorstin deftly exposes, among other things, the banality of hero worship, the fraudulency of public relations techniques, and the ersatz world of *Reader's Digest* and Cook's tours. Disillusioned with reality and deluded by extravagant expectations, Americans have been driven to substitute the illusion of image:

> Our experience tends more and more to become tautology—needless repetition of the same in different words or images. Perhaps what ails us is not so much a vice as a "nothingness." The vacuum of our experience is actually made emptier by our anxious straining with mechanical devices to fill it artificially. What is remarkable is not only that we manage to fill experience with so much emptiness, but that we manage to give emptiness such appealing variety.[52]

After reading these sobering words one may speculate whether Boorstin has forsaken his philosophy of history. If Americans mistake illusion for reality, can it really be blamed on the mass media? Or does the behavior follow from the belief in "givenness" that has led Americans to trust in the appearance of process, motion, change, and hence crave the "pseudo-event," and that has led to the devaluation of mind and thus to the "thingification," to use Martin Buber's term, of life? Without a sense of reality how can Americans be expected to distinguish the image? Without a concept of value how can they know what to value? The answer to these questions is Boorstin's ironic burden; however he seeks to resolve them, one fact seems abundantly clear: from "givenness" to "nothingness" is a peculiarly American pathos that cannot be attributed to the intrusion of alien European ideas.

Boorstin's brief encounter with nothingness seems to have produced not fear and trembling but, paradoxically, a renewed assurance about the beneficence of "givenness." A clue to the direction of Boorstin's present thought may be seen in his handling of a subject taken up in his forthcoming, third volume of *The Americans*—the problem of community. The problem is an important one for Boorstin, since apparently he is convinced that the political greatness of America lies in the historic fact that informal community preceded formal government. Boorstin's idea of community emerges, I believe, from his study of Jefferson, and it is in large part the basis of his own political philosophy. Boorstin follows Jefferson, or at least his reading of Jefferson, in maintaining that "one cannot unify . . . society by mere *concepts,* however refined and subtle, however vivid to a few philosophers or theologians." And like Jefferson, Boorstin believes that Americans "expected not thought but action, not ideas but things to hold society together."[53] Whereas Puritan leaders like John Winthrop believed that love would enable men "to walke towards another" in "Justice and Mercy," Boorstin realizes that Americans preferred to flee outward to the

[52] *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Harper ed., New York, 1964), 60. (This paperback edition bears a different title than the original.)

[53] *Colonial Experience,* 167; *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson,* 7.

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world of action and things. Here he sides with the Founding Fathers, who likewise were skeptical about establishing community on the basis of visible bonds that would be direct, open, and personal, and opted instead for impersonal mechanisms like countervailing factions. But if Boorstin shares the Founders' distrust of community based on transcending moral ideals, how can society be enduringly held together? Although previously reluctant to define precisely the cement of community, in his forthcoming volume Boorstin focuses on the curious phenomenon of consumption. An awareness of the "consumption community" developed after the Civil War with the advent of the mail-order house and department store, and later with mass production and advertisement. Whereas other societies were bound together by ideology or class structure, Americans were brought together by a mutual interest in standardized objects and things, a preoccupation with common risks, interests, calculations. Moreover, since in America it is not what one "possesses" but what one "shares" that matters, not isolated and idle wealth but a standard of living that is "pervasive, reciprocal, and communal," the consumption ethos is open, democratic, and humanitarian. Like nineteenth-century classical economists, Boorstin's concept of community amounts to a perverse utopia, a kind of *creatio ex nihilo* where all conflict is harmonized through consumption; an inverted nirvana whose principle is production, whose esthetic is affluence, whose ethic is no moral demand other than "more." Yet it is brilliantly consistent with his philosophy. Once again the dualisms disappear as Boorstin tells us "we are held to other men . . . by the countless gossamer webs tying together the trivia of our lives every day."[54] There is no fundamental contradiction between our individualism and our communitarianism, our materialism and our idealism, our trivial doings and our essential being. Man is what he becomes, he becomes what he produces, and he finds community in what he consumes. Marx may have turned Hegel on his head, but Boorstin has turned Marx on his stomach.[55]

[54] Daniel J. Boorstin, "Welcome to the Consumption Community," *Fortune,* Sept. 1, 1967, pp. 118–20, 131–38.

[55] Yet all three come up smelling of "givenness." If no theory is contained in Boorstin's idea of community as infinite consumption, neither was it implied in Marx's conviction that community is realized through disalienating work. Indeed on this matter one might compare Hegel and Boorstin. The former believed that community is forged with the advent of money, "a great invention" that abstracts all individual needs by reducing everything to a common denominator, a spiritual force that raises need and work to the level of universality and thus creates "an immense system of solidarity and mutual dependence." The latter believes that America's statistical communities were achieved with the "rise of the cash register, of income tax, and of income-consciousness." In his latest work Boorstin has expressed a deepening doubt about the quantification of life under the impact of statistics, which "have become the model for the world as it might be, of the 'ought' imprisoned in the 'is,' of the ideal imprisoned in the image." Nevertheless, since Boorstin continues to believe that history is the life of action (whether acquisitive or creative) rather than the life of thought, he still shares Marx's and Hegel's conviction that community derives not from a mind-inspired, value-conscious theory, as with the Puritans, but from a continuous form-giving activity. In a word, community is a process rather than a commitment. Hegel's idea of work and community is quoted and discussed in Karl Löwith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (Anchor ed.;

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If the problem of history is the problem of consciousness, the problem of consciousness is the problem of value. It is this dimension that is negated in Boorstin's notion of "givenness," which ignores the role of the active mind and thus rules out the possibility of ultimate value—the quest for transcendence. In rendering to "the mystical power of our land"[56] the creative magic and higher awareness that properly pertains to the human mind, empirical actuality becomes one with human possibility; and in subjecting history to the dominion of nature all purpose becomes mere process and all knowledge mere action. Boorstin glorifies the American genius but he also denies Americans their highest freedom—their ability to distinguish the realm of morality from the realm of nature and to create values through conscious human choice.

In his desire to liberate the American past from ideology Boorstin has developed a theory of history that is itself an ideology. Just as Marx was inclined to believe that historical understanding begins where moral criticism and philosophical speculation ends, so, too, does Boorstin tend to believe that the fundamental problems of ethics and philosophy are resolved through the unfolding processes of history. This basic Marxist assumption remains characteristic even in Boorstin's anti-Marxist history. But while Boorstin has attempted to go beyond Marxism to rediscover America, he has only returned to a secularized version of Bancroft and an Americanized version of Hegel.[57] Like Hegel, he is convinced that the study of history will better enable man to reconcile himself to reality once human thought begins to correspond to the actual world of fact. Thus with some exaggeration it could be said that Boorstin offers us a Marxian analysis and a Hegelian solution. For he, too, banishes philosophy by incorporating it into the realm of history, thereby making history into philosophy. Politically, of course, the intent and effect of Boorstin's ingenious synthesis is not negation but affirmation. The concept of "givenness" fuses the "ought" and the "is" and thereby historicizes morality. What emerges is a comprehensive ideological rationalization of the American past.

Yet what is even more curious is that Boorstin has never made it completely clear whether he himself believes in "givenness," or whether this confinement of human thought to the existing order of things is simply a habit of mind he has discovered in his study of America and its contents. Small wonder that now, as we witness a growing assault on the vulnerable and possibly obsolete, given system of American values, Boorstin dismisses

New York, 1967), 260–67; Boorstin, "The Rise of the Average Man," in his *The Decline of Radicalism: Reflections on America Today* (New York, 1969), 3–19.

[56] *GAP*, 25.

[57] In light of Boorstin's ideological career Jean Paul Sartre's insightful observation seems most appropriate: "I have often remarked on the fact that an 'anti-Marxist' argument is only the apparent rejuvenation of a pre-Marxist idea. A so-called 'going beyond' Marxism will be at worst only a return to pre-Marxism; at best, only the rediscovery of a thought already contained in the philosophy which one believes he has gone beyond." Jean Paul Sartre, *Search For A Method*, tr. Hazel E. Barnes (Vintage ed.; New York, 1968), 7.

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the unquiet desperation of radical students as the barbaric thirst for sensation. Whatever one thinks of Boorstin's description of the phenomenon, there is cold irony here. He is now asking the militant young to do what he previously believed to be alien to the American character: to give philosophical content to their thoughts, to go to the root of matters by posing questions of ultimate knowledge and value, to "search for meaning"; in short, to become speculative theorists rather than mindless activists. Regrettably, Boorstin's new-found respect for ideas is about a generation too late. His traditional anti-intellectual approach to history may have been the proper response to the dogmatism of old comrades; it can hardly serve as the answer to the nihilism of new confrontationists. Perhaps consensus, too, has its cunning.[58]

[58] Daniel J. Boorstin, "The New Barbarians," *Esquire,* Oct. 1968, pp. 159, 162, 260, 263–64. In his recent work, *The Decline of Radicalism,* Boorstin maintains that the Old Left of his generation was truly radical, whereas the New Left is "closer to a dyspepsia than to an ideology, the New Barbarism has tried to generalize its stomach aches but it has been unable to cast them into a philosophy" (p. 128). The unpardonable sin of the New Left, it would seem, is that it learned too well America's genius for dismissing all problems of ideology and philosophy as superfluous.

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Assignments New and Old

A Review Article by PETER PARET

WILLIAM L. LANGER. *Explorations in Crisis: Papers on International History.* Edited by CARL E. SCHORSKE and ELIZABETH SCHORSKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xliv, 517. $11.95.

Two weaknesses of diplomatic history as it is commonly written today are an unwillingness to devote serious attention to the ideas that, in Felix Gilbert's phrase, stand behind diplomatic practice, and an equally pervasive refusal to explore the emotional sources and psychological impact of policy. Some critics are more impressed with another failing: the manner—to their minds superficial, unsystematic, or politically undesirable—in which traditional diplomatic history and its contemporary successors treat the links between foreign policy and domestic and economic affairs. They have argued this point so insistently in recent years, however, and with such a compelling sense of discovery and modernity, that it is unlikely to be ignored by their colleagues and students. The intellectual and psychological dimensions of diplomatic history do not yet enjoy a similar vogue. The latter, moreover, presents special problems, since it is not only the psychology of statesmen or even of political elites that matters but also the feelings of men who are no more than the objects of policy. How can the diplomatic historian transform the emotions and interests of the mass into a significant facet of his interpretation? For Marxists and historians of the New Left, who operate easily with the concept of exploited humanity, ideological preconceptions tend to resolve theoretical difficulties; for others the task appears more troublesome. But there are numerous methodological possibilities for gaining at least partial recognition of the channels that run between psyche and policy. And, at a minimum, awareness that the memoranda and negotiations the scholar studies could have been remote reflections of popular attitudes and certainly did affect men's physical and psychic existence may lead him toward interpretations that are more searching on his specific diplomatic topics and have something to say about the interrelations of all historical phenomena.

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From the beginning, the writings of William Langer gave evidence that his interest ranged beyond the international system and its leading players to encompass the human counters with which the game is played and that in the last analysis constitute both the prize of the diplomatic contest and render it possible. At first Langer's concern expressed itself in a very general awareness of the millions of private individuals caught in the crossfire of international politics—a sense rare enough in a highly professional student of diplomatic affairs, and even rarer in one who hesitated to single out particular powers or groups for moral condemnation, believing that it "is not properly the work of the historian . . . to attempt to assess the responsibility for the outbreak of this or that war." In an essay first published in 1926, "The Origin of the Russo-Japanese War," which opens the volume of his selected papers, *Explorations in Crisis,* Langer writes that

> the war on the whole was as sordid as any from which humanity has suffered. At bottom there was little to chose between the Japanese ambitions and the plans of the Russians. Both were intent upon victimizing helpless peoples and in subjecting populations which disliked and even hated them. About all one can say by way of extenuation is that in this respect the two powers concerned were no better and no worse than most of the other great powers. When all is said and done the aggressions of the strong states against China and the other weak states of the Orient in the last year of the past century and the first years of the present fill one of the blackest pages in the history of modern civilization.

In other early papers that deal with standard topics of the diplomatic historian, the concern for "helpless peoples" is accented by brief, vigorous character sketches of such politicians as Isvolski, who made peace more difficult to maintain. The two themes gain in importance and their relationship grows more complex in the second part of the book, which contains seven papers on imperialism before the First World War and on its revival in the 1930s. Speculations about the psychological motives and reactions of individuals, groups, and societies engaged in expansionist policies are joined to the historian's consciousness of the fate of peoples and civilizations—aggressors as well as victims—and give his general awareness definition and authority. In part 3, "The United States as a World Power," papers written in the 1940s and 1950s explore the influence on foreign policy of American popular attitudes as they developed over two centuries and trace the education of Woodrow Wilson and of politically active segments of American society in the realities of international politics and in the opportunities and dangers of power. In the concluding part of the volume the framework of diplomatic history, which has been constantly expanded by essays in the preceding sections, is broken through. Langer argues in a number of important papers that new attention must be given to such elemental forces in history as disease, diet, and the size of populations and their rate of growth, and he calls on his colleagues to acquaint themselves with new methods of historical exploration and analysis. Langer's suggestion in

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"The Next Assignment," the American Historical Association presidential address of 1957, that certain psychoanalytic concepts and techniques might be incorporated in the historian's work, appears as a felicitous flowering of long-standing interests. In the intervening thirteen years, the fruitfulness of his proposals—and also, unfortunately, the necessity for the caution he voiced against a mechanical reliance on psychological doctrine and terminology at the expense of historical scholarship—has been amply demonstrated.

The quality of life of the common man, his dependence on forces that he rarely controls but may profoundly influence, and, on the other end of the scale, the psychology of his political leaders, form only two themes among many in Langer's writings, and they are by no means the most prominent ones. They wax and wane in significance, but even when limited to a few allusive sentences they contribute to the comprehensive realism that distinguishes his treatment of international politics, an evenhanded, pragmatic historical analysis, which in the main derives from other, less unusual sources: an understanding of diplomatic technique, ability to unravel the skeins of negotiation, willingness to recognize the legitimacy of conflicting national positions, and sympathy for the political qualities of the period under study. Langer's own service in government obviously affected his historical work. But probably more influential than his actual participation in the bureaucratic and political process was his membership, by reason of antecedents, career, and attitudes, in the fairly well-defined group that still provided much of this country's leadership during the Second World War and the years following. Some papers reprinted here, addressing general audiences in the 1940s and early 1950s on contemporary issues, are forceful, sophisticated expressions of America's new claim of world power. Today they are of interest largely as documenting a state of mind that, widespread in America at the time, in less than two decades has undergone substantial change. In his scholarly writings, however, Langer's intellectual and political traditions, and his government service, proved far more creative than limiting. His belief in America's foreign responsibilities and his participation in this country's efforts to rescue and then reshape the international system further deepened his understanding of the activities of statesmen who in earlier times and in other countries had been faced with similar tasks.

In his introduction to *Explorations in Crisis* Carl Schorske notes that Langer's early studies in the diplomatic history of the period before the First World War considered international developments "from the viewpoint of the participants as the dynamic unfolds rather than from the perspective so fashionable in the twenties," and adds that this approach "preserves the naivete as well as the virtuosity of the makers of the politics of decadence, and stresses the complexity of possibility rather than the arbitrary simplicity of the single 'road to war.'" The international system as interpreted in these essays appears to Schorske "essentially as the product of men playing a game whose rules were known, but whose stakes became fully

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apparent only with the unfolding of events"—an admirably precise characterization. Schorske's comment in the same passage that Langer "identif[ied] himself strongly with the statesmen who operated within the system," is, however, too ambiguous to be enlightening either as a historical or a psychological interpretation. It accords better with Langer's impersonal skepticism, in any event, not to stress a few diplomats, but the twin concepts of the state and of a rational ordering of international affairs, as the objects of whatever sublimated empathy affected his analyses.

Before the coming of the Third Reich, Langer, like other American scholars, enjoyed the advantage of a certain detachment from the convolutions of European affairs. To the historian across the Atlantic, any particular spasm of the system could appear less blameworthy, either in its cause or effects, but the system as a whole less satisfactory, than to the protagonists themselves. At the same time, Langer's reading of international relations past and current always assumed that states might have different requirements that could be almost impossible to reconcile, even when they were championed with a sense of responsibility for the international community. When the Second World War and its outcome brought this country under very immediate pressures, Langer found no difficulty in viewing her situation with the same cool acceptance of national power and self-interest. In 1948, in the last of three lectures on "The American Attitude Towards Europe," Langer defined what he took to be the line that American foreign policy must now pursue: "For us, as for Britons before us, it is intolerable that any one power should control the manpower and resources of the European continent. . . . Ideological considerations are important, and we clearly have an interest in preserving democracy wherever possible. But the crucial thing is, and remains, the relationship or balance of power." National interest did not, of course, preclude compromise and coexistence. During the cold war both may at times have appeared to Langer as unattainable, perhaps treacherous ideals; but this passed. "The Wellspring of Our Discontents," an essay written in 1968, which concludes this volume, again argues that national interest must be blended with "effective international authority, without which modern society cannot long endure"—a reprise, in far more dangerous conditions, of Langer's earlier belief in the League of Nations, which to his regret America, out of ignorance and prejudice, had failed to support.

In contrast to the attention Langer pays to the psychological dimension of the past, he does not show a marked interest in political theory. The single most important analysis of the historical role of formalized ideas to be found in this volume is the essay "A Critique of Imperialism," a reappraisal of Hobson's theories and of their further development by communist writers. But the discussion is not so much a study of the intellectual structure of imperialism and its antecedents in political and social theories as a testing of its economic assumptions and an equally searching inquiry into the psychological motives of expansionist policies before and after the First World War.

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As always, Langer is concerned in the first instance with laying bare the immediate activities of political man and his institutions as well as their practical implications; it is illustrative of his attitude that, as Schorske notes, his extensive research in pre-1914 diplomacy draws "no general theoretical conclusions about the state of the international system." An emphatically pragmatic approach, diverted neither by ideology nor sentimentality, is at work; but there are times when the interpretations are unduly limited by the author's indifference to a thorough integration of political theory, the history of ideas, and diplomatic practice, even when these realms stand in generic, if perverted, relationship to one another. An example is provided by the essay "Political Problems of a Coalition," written in 1947, in which Langer treats the great lines of American foreign policy during the Second World War, especially in her relations with Russia. It is, incidentally, an impressively dispassionate and balanced assessment of events still very close at hand. The article's interpretive principle is stated on the opening page: "Since war is indeed but a continuation of policy by other means, it follows inexorably that once hostilities have broken out political decisions must be subordinated to the requirements of strategy." The following paragraph, here cited in full, applies this proposition to the topic of the essay:

> So far as the United States is concerned, the recent world conflict divides naturally into the periods of our nonbelligerency and of our active participation. During the first phase the important decisions were of necessity political, while during the second they were preeminently military, though, of course, political considerations remained of moment all the way through and again became predominant as the war drew toward its close.

The intent of the argument is clear: America's support of the Vichy government and of Soviet Russia, though distasteful on ideological grounds, was a military necessity, as was Roosevelt's decision at Casablanca "to subordinate everything to the winning of the war and to avoid all political and territorial issues that might provide dissension among the anti-Axis forces." The requirements of strategy demanded that "political" considerations—which in this case appear to mean considerations of an ideological and moral nature—be put aside for the time. That these are sensible observations, which to some extent fit the specific historical situation, should not obscure the fact that something is wrong with their terminology and that the theoretical propositions used to place American foreign policy during the early 1940s into a universal context are not fully explored. The word *politics*, for instance, slides dangerously between ideology and more conventional meanings, while *strategy* often refers to issues that are political rather than military: after all, the decision at Casablanca to avoid conflict with Stalin, far from simply "answering the requirements of strategy," was itself a political decision of the first magnitude—if one likes, a political decision based in part on an erroneous evaluation of the military situation. When Langer asserts not only that

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strategic requirements did, in fact, override the "political" aims of the United States (though surely not in every case), but also that in the nature of things they should have done so, his interpretation is blunted. The author of the proposition from which Langer derives his argument would have shaken his head at the logic used to reach this conclusion. For Clausewitz the observation that war is a continuation of policy could have only one reasonable consequence: Strategy must at all times be subordinated to political interests, though the political leadership should take care not to ask the impossible of the soldier. Langer's view, on the contrary, approaches the position that Moltke, in a reversal of Clausewitz, sought to assert against Bismarck: Political interests properly dominate before the outbreak of hostilities and after their termination, but military considerations must be supreme in the interval—for a soldier a conventional and entirely understandable point of view, of which Bismarck made short shrift. It is hardly necessary to add that in the course of the essay Langer himself notes that Stalin did not invariably subordinate politics to strategy during the war. And just as the Russians did not suspend political activity, neither did other powers such as Britain or Poland—although unlike Russia they lacked the strength to make their interests prevail. Many of Germany's major military decisions, including the decision to invade Russia, were motivated more by political than by strategic considerations—interpreted, to be sure, by a head of state whose willingness to accept the practical limitations of his military instrument decreased throughout the war.

Langer's pragmatic, but in this instance somewhat vague and contradictory analysis may have been influenced by history and by a contemporary factor. Many European statesmen of the age of imperialism did in fact adopt Moltke's view of the supremacy of the military interest while fighting was in progress, if only out of a sense of helplessness in the face of the technological and organizational mysteries of modern war. Nor was this attitude, at least so far as issues among other powers were concerned, wholly unknown to American policy at a time when the Atlantic and Pacific still afforded some security and made it possible for Americans to discount some of the political and territorial anxieties that loomed so large in the thoughts of Europeans and Russians. In this respect, too, Langer's treatment is more document than interpretation; the discussion would have gained if the problems of American policy, and their resolution, had at least been subjected to more rigorous theoretical exploration.

The essay with which Carl Schorske introduces the volume is itself a valuable contribution to our understanding of modern American historiography. Schorske not only discusses the background and content of nearly every article and lecture, identifies some major themes, and places them in Langer's total work, but explores the interaction of Langer's scholarly interests and the events of the past fifty years. His introduction will be widely read in its own right, and its interpretations, in which firmly held theoretical and

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ideological attitudes are expressed with unusual intellectual and stylistic refinement, will undoubtedly gain broad acceptance. It was only to be expected that the occasion giving rise to his discussion would affect its tone and argument, as would the fact that the author of *Explorations in Crisis* and his editor are different kinds of historians. In a prefatory note Schorske refers to a divergence of political views, and it may be that his sense of Langer's conservatism made him less appreciative of some of Langer's achievements and, in other respects, also less critical than he might have been as political issues diverted his attention from certain questions of methodology and interpretation while adding to the problems he faced as editor and commentator. But the differences run deeper. It is impossible to ignore the note of dogmatism sounded here and there in the introduction. To give an example: Langer's identification of the "underlying root" of the Russo-Japanese War as "the inability of China and Korea to resist the aggressions of the European states" prompts Schorske to comment: "Langer does not, of course, pursue the sources of Asian weakness by an analysis of Asian society as an international historian would have to do today. Asian civilization and its fate provide him only with moral perspective for the analysis of European power politics, not with dynamic constituents in the historical process as a whole." The key words are "would have to do today." What is their justification? Social history, or the history of society, if competently done, could obviously add to our understanding of the background of the war, and of the war itself, as could the investigation of any number of other aspects—military, intellectual, political, economic—that might also be identified as propelling forces in the historical process. An analysis of Asian society, whether of Chinese weaknesses or the strengths of the Japanese, is not the essential peg without which a modern study of the Russo-Japanese conflict would collapse. In history the necessity to do things in a certain way can apply only to the realm of techniques—the accurate transcription of a document, the appropriate programming of a computer. Some problems may call for a specific approach with its particular methods, though even here the scholar has more choices than is sometimes suggested; other than that, no code or orthodoxy, old or new, determines the manner in which a question is posed and in which it is treated. Langer's essays, it seems to me, reflect this element of freedom; occasionally they lack symmetry, contain inadequacies and contradictions, but they are carried by the one force that, talent apart, is really irreplaceable. His objection to the conventions of much of the diplomatic history written in the interwar period and his advocacy of different approaches express not the vision of a new school, but a pragmatic readiness to experiment and explore. It is not so much a criticism as a description of his work to add that the new elements Langer calls for rarely form an integral part of his own interpretations. As Schorske notes, an essay analyzing Bismarck's account of his editing of the Ems dispatch does not offer a psychological explanation for Bismarck's

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faulty memory; another piece, "The Pattern of Urban Revolution in 1848," scarcely pays attention to the economic, social, and psychological motives of popular unrest. But these omissions also suggest a historian who feels free to be inconsistent, who is interested in the specific task at hand rather than in the creation of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. If there is, however, one issue that is nearly always present in Langer's writings, it is that of the state, the state's manner of generating and especially of employing political power, its ways of defining and developing the national interest, and its relations with its citizens and with foreign powers. At a time when our discipline seems to be turning away from political history—though the authority of the state has never been as comprehensive and as evident as it is today—this aspect of Langer's essays invests them with a special, challenging interest.

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Yves Renouard and the Economic History of the Middle Ages

A Review Article by DAVID HERLIHY

YVES RENOUARD. *Études d'histoire médiévale*. In two volumes. Preface by CHARLES-EDMOND PERRIN. (Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section.) Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1968. Pp. 644; 654–1138, 98 fr. the set.

Over the past thirty years historians have radically altered their assessment of the social and economic history of the Middle Ages and of the place of that epoch in the growth of Western economy. Textbooks of hardly more than a generation ago confidently described a feudal and manorial system, which allegedly dominated all parts of the medieval world for most periods of its history. Medieval manorialism supposedly persisted until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it finally gave way before the rise of a money economy, the commercial revolution, and the triumph of the Protestant ethic.

The picture looks much different today. In describing the Middle Ages, most scholars no longer speak of systems; rather, they stress the variety, even the dynamism, of the economic institutions that characterized the medieval world. And they readily admit the importance of trade, towns, and industries in medieval economic life; the commercial revolution of the sixteenth century had had a predecessor, comparable in dimension and importance, five hundred years before.

In bringing historians to this reassessment of the Middle Ages, Italian archives have probably provided the chief stimulus. For if the old formulas had to be applied everywhere with effort, they made no sense at all for a land where towns, trade, and industries had gained such prominence, since at least the twelfth century. Many masters from many countries have contributed to this remarkable efflorescence of Italian studies—Armando Sapori, Gino Luzzatto, Robert Lopez, Raymond de Roover, Federigo Melis, and others. Here, in the *Études d'histoire médiévale*, we have a collection of the works of one of those masters, who for France and for the wide international audience that follows her scholarship, similarly explored the archives of Italy and taught historians to think differently about the Middle Ages.

From his first publication in 1934 until his death in 1965, Yves Renouard

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was allowed hardly more than three decades of active scholarship. Over these years he wrote fluently though not prolifically. The bibliography of his writings, published in the *Études,* lists 93 titles and 166 short reviews. The *Études* itself reprints 73 pieces—articles, addresses, and lengthy critical reviews; apart from his several books and editions of documents, it therefore contains the substantial part of his scholarly work. The editors, who are unnamed, have divided the studies into seven large divisions, ranging from "History and Civilizations" to "The Iberian Peninsula." Four of the sections, the heart and substance of the collection, contain studies on commerce, trade routes, businessmen, and the economic role of the Avignon papacy. In a brief preface Charles-Edmond Perrin contributes an appreciation of Renouard's scholarship.

Although not arranged in chronological order, the studies enable the reader to follow rather well Renouard's intellectual growth. He was not closely associated with Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, or the so-called "school of the *Annales*"—the men who in the thirties and forties conducted the famous critical attack against French academic history. Although a leading economic historian, he did not publish in the *Annales* until 1948. Temperamentally, he was not given to controversy; serenity, courtesy, even charity are the chief characteristics of his essays and reviews. Moreover, he was not entirely in sympathy with the disparagement of political history—*histoire événementielle*—a characteristic that was and has remained true of the *Annales.* Throughout his life Renouard stressed the importance of a sound knowledge of political events as well as the importance of personalities in history. The *Études* itself contains biographies of the two Simon de Montforts. At the same time he was quite open to the new interests and methods. In going through these pages the reader is struck again and again by the pertinence of the ideas and suggestions he encounters to scholarship today.

Like many medievalists, Yves Renouard as a young scholar focused his attention more earnestly upon a particular set of records than upon a clearly defined set of problems. He studied the archives of the Avignon papacy intensively when, from 1933, he was a member of the Ecole française at Rome. To judge from his first publication he had been concerned initially with the political and institutional history of the papacy in the Avignon period, but with characteristic alertness he soon recognized the value of these archives for economic history. These documents were the basis of his thesis, published in 1942, on the relations of the Avignon papacy with the banking companies of Italy.[1] The novelty of Renouard's work in administrative history was his shift of emphasis from the theoretical functions of the various papal offices to the practical operations of the papal government. He sought to explore, as he says in the *Études,* "the reality, the life, which is usually

[1] *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378* (Paris, 1942); see also his second thesis, *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme* (Paris, 1942).

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covered or masked in the official texts . . ." (p. 815). In the sixth section of this collection, dedicated to "The Avignon Papacy and Commerce," the reader encounters fascinating studies describing how the popes communicated with their distant subjects and agents, how they purchased cloth in Flanders, wine in Burgundy, paid their debts and collected their revenues throughout Europe, or shipped grain to the starving Armenians. He was a pioneer in exploring the methods, costs, and speed of transportation and communication in the Middle Ages and in stressing the role and importance of the papacy and Church in the economic history of the period. Historians have been slow to follow Renouard's lead. The *Cambridge Economic History*, for example, has yet to include a chapter on the papacy in the volumes so far devoted to the Middle Ages. But the economic role of the papacy is clearly too important to be neglected indefinitely, and those who study it will start from the solid foundations Renouard laid.

The Avignon papacy might well be considered a Franco-Italian enterprise; Renouard's early research thus oriented him toward two geographic regions. It was particularly after he was called to the faculty of letters at Bordeaux in 1937 that he paid considerable attention to the history of medieval Aquitaine and to its political, economic, and cultural relationships with England to the north and the Iberian peninsula to the south. Commerce as well as political allegiance tied Aquitaine to England, and in commerce the principal commodity was of course the wine of Gascony. Six articles republished here describe in detail this major branch of medieval commerce that was so important that it led many areas of Gascony to abandon altogether the cultivation of cereals. The great volume of this trade, the high degree of specialization in agriculture it brought in its wake, again showed the inaccuracy of many traditional assessments of the medieval economy—that it was self-sufficient or closed, or handled only petty volumes.

Renouard's concern with both France and Italy led him also to study the routes that joined them, particularly the passages over the Alps. The fifth section of the *Études*, on "Voyages, Routes and Communications," shows Renouard's characteristic taste for concrete facts: How long, for example, did it take to go from Paris to Rome in the thirteenth century? What routes were favored? What did it cost?

Italy was his second great area of interest, and his studies devoted to the Italian economy and society should probably be considered his most influential. With the possible exception of Armando Sapori, Renouard gave us the most rounded picture still available of those he called "les hommes d'affaires italiens," the Italian businessmen, of the Middle Ages. Fifteen articles, about a quarter of this present collection, are concerned with these men, who were also the subject of a well-known book by Renouard.[2] It was not only their methods but their psychology that fascinated Yves Renouard. The portrait he

[2] *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1949).

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drew of them differed in almost every detail from what Sombart or Weber had assumed about economic man in this supposedly precapitalist age. These businessmen were not petty artisans who wished to work only until they had satisfied their modest needs. Rather, they were men intent upon profit and willing to take high risks to attain it. They were thoroughly rationalistic in their ethics and the true representatives of a "lay and modern" culture. Moreover, they provided the chief audience for the humanists and artists of the Renaissance and thus decisively influenced the character of that cultural revival. It is true that Renouard's picture of his beloved "hommes d'affaires" seems on occasion slightly exaggerated and inconsistent. How could these men be at once "profoundly Christian," as he claims, and willing to flout the traditional Christian laws on usury, as he also claims? His depiction seems wanting in subtlety. On the other hand, he helped successfully to show that in European history, capitalism, in the sense of big business and big businessmen, was not a novelty of the sixteenth century.

In exploring the ties between the social experience and the cultural attitudes of Italy's bankers and merchants, Renouard was pursuing a path that many other historians have followed or are following. In other ways, too, his writings have anticipated the current lively interests of medieval scholarship. Although he began his researches with institutions, Renouard was well aware of the importance of quantitative measurements for the economic history even of the Middle Ages. He tried to assess such matters as the exact modern equivalents for certain medieval measures, the size of ships, the cost of transport, or the number of people living in Aquitaine in the fourteenth century. If his efforts at quantitative history seem limited and not remarkably successful, this reflects only how much progress has been made since his death. He was also one of the first to recognize the importance of the Black Death of 1348–50 in medieval history; he called it "the most important event of the fourteenth century" (p. 143). In his later studies demographic considerations loom large (section 2 of the *Études* is entirely given over to "Demography and Urban History"). Again, if his analysis of the causes and consequences of this catastrophe seem surpassed now, this is only because so many other scholars have been working successfully in the field that he was among the first to enter.

A final and perhaps most remarkable example of Renouard's sense of the direction of research is his comments on the role of the generation in history (pp. 19–40, 67–76). He noted that each generation in human society shares experiences that are closed to those that precede or follow it. It is important for the social historian to recognize these generational differences, which will often mean generational conflicts. Written in the placid fifties, Renouard's words seem to be speaking very much to our own times and interests.

If there is a criticism to be made of Renouard's work, it can only be that he himself did not develop many of the ideas he expressed. His discussion of the generation in history remains abstract, and he did not rigorously apply it

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to concrete historical situations. He was not able to accomplish the extensive work he recognized was needed in regard to medieval metrology or the volumes and costs involved in some branches of medieval trade. Even his psychological portrait of the Italian businessman requires retouching. The fault in large measure was his premature death in 1965, which took him from scholarship before his hand and pen could do adequate justice to his mind. Renouard leaves his reader wishing for more. But is that a fault or more truly the mark of a gifted historian?

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

FRED WEINSTEIN and GERALD M. PLATT. *The Wish To Be Free: Society, Psyche, and Value Change.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 319. $8.50.

The psychological dimensions of history have recently received a certain amount of intelligent attention, though the debate over procedures and proofs in this delicate area of inquiry is by no means so general or so serious as its importance demands. What we need is the full integration of psychology, especially depth psychology, into history, squarely built on the recognition that all history, the science of human beings in the world of the past, is in fact psychological history. We do not yet have this integration: Erik Erikson, the best-known, and the best, practitioner of "psycho-history," whose work has indicated the possibilities of psychological perception in history, has declared himself uneasy at the hyphenated nature of his field.

Clearly we are still some distance from such integration. If it should ever come, this thoughtful little book (typically a collaboration, which seems to be the way of psycho-history these days) may claim to have played its part. *The Wish To Be Free* is an inquiry into the psychological and (not to forget) the sociological conditions for revolutionary change. The main influences at work in the book, used frequently but with a measure of inner freedom, are the writings of Sigmund Freud and Heinz Hartmann, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. As the authors see it, "all revolutionary changes share a common basis—they originate in the expression of personal fantasy-wishes. The progression is always the same: wishes formerly repressed become conscious, are systematically codified, and lead to social action aimed at fundamental alterations in the values that had served to organize behavior within a social system. And in every case the progression is triggered by structural changes in the system." Such thinking is risky, for by psychologizing revolutions their objective grounds—valid discontents, exploitation, oppression—may be trivialized, explained away. But the authors know this and add: "That change proceeds in this manner does not mean that man's withdrawal from the inherited values of his society must be regarded as in some sense regressive or pathological, or that it cannot represent personal and social development." This caution is important: it shows that the use of psychology in history will not necessarily flatten it out into a meaningless parade of irrational outbursts.

In exploring the "sociology of value change" —the historical moment when long-accepted conduct is questioned and rejected—the authors use two historical examples: the French Enlightenment issuing in the French Revolution, a great struggle for autonomy; and what they call the "introspective revolution" at the turn of this century, a revolution that, in the writings of Proust and Freud, Bergson and James, rediscovered the irrational side of life and discovered the unconscious. Rightly, Weinstein and Platt see these two revolutions in man's way of looking at himself as closely related: "In sociological terms, the Enlightenment and other democratizing movements are related to Freud and his work primarily in the sense that without these earlier movements and the changes initiated by them, what Freud did would be

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inconceivable." As I have argued elsewhere, the Enlightenment's recognition of the power of passion made it, indeed, a very direct precursor of Freud; and both the philosophes and and the psychoanalyst opted for the expansion of criticism into all, including the most inconvenient, areas in human life.

As their treatments of the texts and the exhaustive footnotes—unforgivably backnotes here—prove, the authors have read their sources closely and well. Their interpretations of Diderot, of Rousseau, of Robespierre, of Kafka will not offend the specialist. If he will recognize what the book says about them, this is all to the good. It means that these two psychohistorians have respected their material. Even better is their ability to ask old questions in a new, and to my mind, fruitful way.

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GEORGE LICHTHEIM. *A Short History of Socialism*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xi, 362. Cloth $8.95, paper $3.95.

Although any book by George Lichtheim is bound to be worth reading, this latest and most general work leaves the reader somewhat disappointed. The gifted and prolific author of so much work on the history of socialism would seem to be ideally qualified to write a coherent, one-volume survey of the topic. And surely Lichtheim is right in asserting the need for such a volume aimed at undergraduates, for whom the monumental tomes of Cole or Landauer are inappropriate and the older surveys of Laidler, Gray, and MacKenzie are shallow and dated. Lichtheim's book sparkles with an urbane wit, occasionally rises to brilliance, but in the end simply does not meet the need.

The scope is universal enough, extending to include the anarchist and communist traditions as well as socialism in the narrower sense, and to contemporary non-Western versions of socialism as well. Lichtheim's personal commitment to Democratic Socialism does not prevent him from getting inside the other traditions, nor does it save the Fabians and German Social Democrats from a devastatingly critical analysis. The chief flaw of the book lies in its organizational structure, which begins to falter after the excellent initial chapters and then frequently disappears altogether in an unpredictable sequence of digressions, which appear to have been set down in perfect free association. For example, the section entitled "Marxism and Anarchism" opens with some reflections on why the Australian Labour party did not become explicitly socialist. Too many personalities and doctrines are commented on, interpreted, or judged without ever having been introduced or explained. Some inclusions and exclusions seem arbitrary to the point of perverseness: for example, the author passes over the seemingly essential subject of Marx's humanism—"so well known that neither exposition nor comment is necessary" (p. 76)—but sees fit to devote several pages to the early Fabians' preoccupation with ghosts.

Lichtheim is at his best when relating the various currents of socialism to their respective historical contexts. He explains the differences by reference to cultural and ethnic background, degree of economic modernization, the social composition of movements, and accidents of personality—all in a skillful blend that produces some arresting and even brilliant interpretations. But this very wealth of allusion presupposes an extensive prior knowledge that the novice undergraduate is not likely to possess. The book should be more rewarding to the advanced student of socialism, at least if he has the patience to follow the butterfly path of Lichtheim's presentation from one interesting digression to the next.

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G. R. ELTON. *England, 1200–1640*. (The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. 255. $6.95.

Professor Elton's book describes the whole range of sources available for the study of English history in the years 1200–1640. It covers not only the records of government but also those of the Church and private individuals, literary sources, and the landscape itself. Graduate students in the early stages of their work will find it an admirable introduction. There is no work of similar range and quality. It is no mere catalogue of sources, since at every stage Professor Elton draws attention to both the opportunities and the dangers presented by the material he is discussing. His

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decision to straddle the conventional divisions between medieval and modern is especially commendable. The absence of a bibliography does, however, limit the value of his book. His footnotes draw attention to leading works, but in some cases (see, for example, p. 46) recent specialist work is not mentioned.

It is not surprising that a discussion that spans four and a half centuries should contain errors or doubtful statements. Specialists may feel that the London chronicle tradition deserves more respect than Professor Elton accords it (p. 17). *Quo warranto* proceedings were not "initiated" by a statute of Edward I (p. 119); inquisitions *post mortem* do not deal only with tenants-in-chief (p. 37). Why discuss feet of fines in chapter 5, "Private Materials," and not in chapter 6, "The Law"? Why are manorial accounts and court rolls discussed in separate chapters?

More serious is Professor Elton's anxiety to employ chronological compartments in his concluding chapter. His reassertion of the importance of the 1530s as a dividing point does not add to the value of this book. Indeed, his decision to write about the period from 1200 to 1640 as a whole serves only to increase doubts about this view. Nor will those who work in the sources of the period between the 1340s and the beginning of the sixteenth century accept the view that "all historical description" in it is "less full and more conjectural" than in the preceding century and a half. But none of these criticisms seriously affects the value of a work that is always informative and stimulating.

J. M. W. BEAN
Columbia University

VAN CLEAF BACHMAN. *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623–1639.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 87th Series [1969], Number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 183. $7.50.

MICHAEL KAMMEN. *Empire and Interest: The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism.* (Pilotbooks; The Lippincott History Series.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1970. Pp. x, 186. Cloth $4.95, paper $2.95.

In both of these studies the authors have undertaken to place a specific part of early American history in the context of European economic and political development. In *Peltries or Plantations* Bachman's intention is to explain why, after a period of vacillation between emphasis on the fur trade and emphasis on agricultural colonization, the Dutch West India Company after 1638 committed itself "to the development of an agricultural colony in North America." In *Empire and Interest* Kammen's purpose is to describe the evolving political role of special interest groups within the First British Empire and the effect of these groups on imperial policies and on Anglo-American relations, particularly in the quarter century immediately preceding the Revolution. If both studies are somewhat less than completely successful, it reflects not so much on the abilities of their authors as it does on the difficulties inherent in such efforts to interrelate American and European developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in more than the most general and superficial way.

For Bachman, the problem is one familiar to anyone interested in pre-nineteenth-century economic history: the fragmentary and random nature of the evidence available. In the case of the early years of the Dutch West India Company this problem is particularly acute. As Bachman notes, "Since only a small proportion of the West India Company's records . . . have survived, parts of this study are necessarily of a speculative nature; and it may strike some persons that the argument becomes at times unproductively hypothetical." In fact, the surviving evidence is so scanty that the value of Bachman's whole study rests primarily on his speculative interpretations as to what happened and why. Fortunately, for the most part his speculations are balanced and restrained and convincing, as is his general conclusion "that the depreciated state of New Netherland about 1638 was not the result of neglect, but of a studied attempt to extract a maximum profit from the fur trade in the short run." For myself, I am inclined to think that Bachman makes the divisions between those within the company who were interested in the fur trade and those who were interested in agriculture sharper and more clearly defined than

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was the case. He also accepts too readily, to my mind, the idea that successful continuance of the fur trade was "obviously incompatible with large investments in agriculture or any other fixed capital" (the example of New France is a case in point here). But these are matters of personal interpretation and speculation on my part, just as they are on his.

The major weakness of *Peltries or Plantations* is its failure, unavoidable though it may be, to determine effectively the exact relationship between the West India Company's operations in New Netherland and its other enterprises. Here the fragmentary nature of the records, rather than the author, are at fault. Nonetheless, Bachman's inability to uncover the financial and economic relationship of the New Netherland operation to the other company enterprises is a serious limitation in a study whose purpose is to explain why the directors of the company allocated their resources as they did and why they vacillated in their policies toward their North American settlements. In short, the basic question that Bachman set out to explore remains at the end of his study unanswered, and we still know far less than we would like to about the company and the origins of New Netherland.

In *Empire and Interest* Kammen has taken on a much larger assignment. He is concerned not only with the "North American interest" and its role within the British political system but, more generally, with the whole nature of interest groups as such and the position of such groups within the most rapidly evolving economic unit in the Western world in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this case, the problem is not a lack of material evidence but, rather, the fact that the modern, social-science-based conception of interest groups and their role in society is relatively new and not yet fully developed, even in its application to the contemporary world. Kammen is faced with applying an as yet less than perfect tool to a time period that has never been directly exposed to an analysis of this kind—a sizable, indeed staggering, undertaking.

As Kammen points out, his study is intended as an exploratory essay; its purpose is "to explore and explain the political economy of an empire in terms of its complex and diverse social groups." Accordingly, he has tried "to make it clear from the outset what mercantilism meant to contemporaries, what 'interest' and 'interests' meant to the eighteenth-century mind, and what 'interest group' means to the modern political scientist." He is concerned specifically with the "pervasive activity of interest groups in domestic and imperial politics" and with what "the changing relationship between these elements" tells us about the origin of the Revolution. His conclusions are that interest groups of various kinds gradually became more cohesive and effective in British politics up to 1750, that after 1750 economic conditions for a time led to dramatic changes in the composition and activities of the interest groups, with fateful consequences for the stability of the political scene in England, as well as for the course of Anglo-American relations. After 1783, Kammen suggests, a further fundamental change occurred and, while the "interests remained active . . . [the] government regained the initiative and decisive control over policy."

In any such far-ranging study there are certain to be points of disagreement or debate. It is not always easy in such an undertaking to know how much general background information needs to be included, but Kammen devotes more space to recounting generally known chronological and narrative information than seems necessary, which not only lowers the level of the discussion but leaves less time than he needs to deal adequately with the complex questions he raises concerning the nature and role of interest groups. More specifically, I am not personally convinced that the changes in the character and role of the interest groups after 1750 were as dramatic as Kammen argues. Nor am I convinced that the evolution of imperial policies after 1763 owed as much to the activities of the special interest groups as he implies. Most of all, Kammen's assumption that there was such a thing as "the American interest" is open to very serious question. One of the sources of weakness encountered by American representatives in England was the very fact that American interests, even those actually represented in London, were so diverse and incoherent that united action was not very often possible. There were indeed certain men and groups in England who had an interest in

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America; but that is something very different from the "American interest" Kammen seems to have in mind, and that difference is directly relevant to the movement of the colonies away from their imperial connection to England.

Such reservations aside, *Empire and Interest* represents a stimulating and intriguing suggestion of what is to come. Obviously, the new and sophisticated concepts currently being evolved in the fields of sociology and social science increasingly will be applied to problems relating to early American development. Realistically, however, both Kammen's and Bachman's studies, in their very different ways, indicate the frustrations and problems students interested in utilizing these techniques and concepts in their efforts to relate American development to European events can expect to encounter. As Bachman's work illustrates, the material evidence surviving is frequently inadequate to support anything more than very tentative and speculative conclusions. And as Kammen's study indicates, the new concepts and tools are useful in suggesting new approaches, but adapting them to the existing levels of historical scholarship and knowledge is a very difficult assignment indeed—one that it may take a whole generation of scholars to implement successfully and permanently.

THOMAS C. BARROW
Clark University

DANIEL E. BARBEY. *MacArthur's Amphibious Navy: Seventh Amphibious Force Operations, 1943–1945*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1969. Pp. xv, 375. $12.50.

JOHN WINTON. *The Forgotten Fleet: The British Navy in the Pacific, 1944–1945*. New York: Coward-McCann. 1970. Pp. 433. $8.95.

Both books are a definite contribution to the history of World War II; the first as a straightforward, firsthand account by an important participant, the other as a superb piece of historical research and writing. The volumes, roughly co-extensive in coverage of the war in the Pacific, are welcome additions to all naval library shelves. Both are a delight with their modern and logical rendering of dates in day-month-year order.

Naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison said that "Uncle Dan the Amphibious Man" Barbey's appointment as Commander Amphibious Force Southwest Pacific was the navy's Christmas gift to General MacArthur in 1942. Yea verily, for without this amphibious support MacArthur's troops could never have carried the war to the Japanese. Barbey's book relates the story of how American naval forces were developed to move combat troops northward from Australia starting in December 1942. We see the development of new amphibious techniques and the planning of land operations starting with Woodlark and Kiriwina on June 30, 1943. The story carries through the rest of the war and continues on to include the American occupation of Korea and China.

The telling is warmly personal, informative, and—except for the author's gauge of General MacArthur—carefully measured. Barbey's faith in his commanding officer—"he was a man of destiny and there was no need to take precautions"—remained firm even after observing that his hero had prepared the Admiralty Islands invasion communiqué *before* the landings took place. The author's closest expression of doubt is in reference to the near disaster at Los Negros, when he says, "Looking backward, I have often wondered if MacArthur ever questioned his own judgment in this matter." Less faithful observers had no cause even to wonder.

The author's devotion to his amphibious force is proudly and properly placed; his story is well told and illustrated. Appendixes give plans and specifications of the principal landing craft employed in the Pacific, and statistics on the activities of the Seventh Amphibious Force from June 30, 1943, to July 1, 1945. These are useful, but they could have been better presented. Other minor editorial inconsistencies do not mar the overall value of the book as an honest account of the crucially important Seventh Amphibious Force operations in the Pacific by the man who commanded them.

Readers of my recent article on the Okinawan campaign properly took me to task for having omitted the contribution of the British navy. In partial self-exculpation, I am pleased to review John Winton's splendid work in which he does justice to the role of the British navy in the Pacific during World War II.

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The dust jacket of this excellent book says that its naval-expert author "has added a vital, little-known, and fascinating chapter to the annals of World War II history. Comprehensive and exhaustively researched, this definitive work sets the record straight and, belatedly, gives credit where it is due." Reviewers usually ignore such blurbs as fabric of the promotion department, but this one is completely accurate. The book is a delight for its thoroughness, clarity, graceful readability, and almost totally detached appraisal of the British navy's part in World War II in the Pacific, never before properly covered within one volume.

Background material and historical perspective are cogently provided whenever necessary to the setting. Conclusions are fair and considered, even to acknowledging the validity of American complaints against British comrades in arms.

A brief but helpful chronology paces events of the three Pacific Ocean areas for the last year of the war. Appendixes list the full composition of the British Pacific Fleet and East Indies Fleet, and provide the tonnage of Japanese shipping sunk by British and Netherlands submarines in the Far East.

ROGER PINEAU
Bethesda, Maryland

R. W. THOMPSON. *Montgomery: The Field Marshal. The Campaign in North-West Europe, 1944/45*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. 344. $8.95.

R. W. Thompson, a British war correspondent best known for his analysis of Winston Churchill as a "Yankee Marlborough," has now taken on the redoubtable Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery, Britain's acknowledged champion following the long-awaited victory at El Alamein. Monty's flamboyant personality has evoked as much controversy as that of his fellow Irishman and particular rival, George S. Patton. Notwithstanding Eisenhower's lack of enthusiasm for him, Montgomery was appointed to an essentially aggressive role as the initial Allied ground commander in Normandy, and Thompson sustains the customary criticism that he was far from his best on the offensive, especially in the poorly managed attempt to outflank the Siegfried line at Arnhem.

On the other hand, Thompson vigorously defends Montgomery's conduct of the attrition battle in Normandy, including his much-debated failure to close the trap on the German Seventh Army at Falaise. Although Thompson makes a good case for Montgomery here, his strictures on Eisenhower's loose control of the subsequent Allied pursuit fail to do full justice to Eisenhower's ardent support by his numerous British subordinates in SHAEF in these arguments within Montgomery. In fact Montgomery does not seem to have considered Eisenhower his superior at all. He preferred to complicate still further an already vastly overweighted command structure by reporting readily only to his equally prickly patron in London, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Alan Brooke. Under these circumstances it was only the catharsis of victory, as well as what Thompson at times grants was Eisenhower's immense forbearance, that prevented worse rows and misunderstandings than those that ensued.

If Thompson has firmly grasped the principal actors of this drama, often from personal observation at the time, he is not on nearly such sure ground in his portraits of such Americans as Bradley, Gavin, or Ridgway. Finally, his understanding of American policy reflects the usual British belief in American obtuseness whenever the latter ventured to disagree with British national interests. An adequate bibliography is embellished with good photographs and index, but poor maps.

TRUMBULL HIGGINS
John Jay College,
City University of New York

LLOYD C. GARDNER, ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., and HANS J. MORGENTHAU. *The Origins of the Cold War*. (The American Forum Series.) Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell. 1970. Pp. xiii, 122. $2.25.

HEINRICH BODENSIECK. *Provozierte Teilung Europas? Die britisch-nordamerikanische Regionalismus-Diskussion und die Vorgeschichte des Kalten Krieges 1939–1945*. Opladen: Leske Verlag. 1970. Pp. 119. DM 9.80.

The most outstanding characteristic of these

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two paperbacks is the fact that all four authors give widely divergent explanations of the origin of the cold war. In some instances they cite the same sources to prove conflicting interpretations. One thing they have in common, however, is an inability to find any Soviet documentation worth citing on this subject. It is always a pleasure to find the State Department's sharpest critics referring to *Foreign Relations of the United States* to prove a revisionist point.

Editors Hutmacher and Susman had a good idea in bringing together the three contrasting articles by Gardner, Schlesinger, and Morgenthau. Equally inspired was the idea of getting each of these authors to read the other two pieces and to write rejoinders. To this lively mix the editors have added a useful introduction summarizing trends and titles in the historiographic battle over the cold war. The result is a very useful little paperback, well worth adding to the reading list of students in modern diplomatic history and international relations.

The editors tell us that the three essays—presented in the order of Gardner, Schlesinger, Morgenthau—represent the New Left, the liberal establishment, and the "middle point." To put it more bluntly: Gardner feels that the United States was mostly at fault in causing the cold war; Schlesinger blames the Soviet Union primarily; while Morgenthau holds them both guilty in their separate ways: the Russians for being aggressively tough and the Americans for being stupidly idealistic. Gardner writes in young anger; Schlesinger in mellow sorrow; Morgenthau with an air of I-told-you-so.

The Schlesinger article should have been put first in the collection for two good reasons: (1) It was written in 1967 for publication in *Foreign Affairs,* whereas the other two articles, and all three rejoinders, were written in 1970 especially for this paperback. Chronology is, as always, meaningful. (2) The Schlesinger piece is the thesis against which both Gardner and Morgenthau are presenting antitheses. The younger student in particular will not understand what Gardner is all about until after he has digested the basic Schlesinger statement.

In the rejoinders, Schlesinger and Morgenthau—an odd couple—find themselves in a strange alliance when confronting Gardner's iconoclasm. So we find Schlesinger cutting through to reality with the barbed query: "Did Stalin really do so little in these years to arouse legitimate apprehensions in the West?" while Morgenthau, obviously irritated, lashes out with the flat statement that "there is no historical evidence whatsoever for the revisionist proposition that the United States used this [atomic bomb] monopoly as a weapon in the Cold War against the Soviet Union."

Gardner's best points are those in which he shows up the self-serving aspects of some Western proposals and actions that have been customarily described in self-righteous terms, particularly in the memoirs of eminent American and British cold warriors. This is all to the good, and out of all this should come in due course a synthesis that most of us can live with.

The Bodensieck monograph takes a revisionist line that is novel, to say the least. The author's contention is that the various plans for European regional organization or federations that were advanced in the United States and Great Britain after World War I and particularly during the years 1939–45 scared the Russians, who assumed that any or all such groupings would be anti-Soviet in fact if not in name. Thus provoked, the Soviet Union pushed in 1945 to establish its own *cordon sanitaire* as far west as possible. And that, you see, is how Germany and Europe came to be divided. Bodensieck cites almost no official sources or even authoritative memoirs that might have demonstrated how much effect this whole public discussion had on official policy in the West or how seriously the Russians really took it. At least the author did put a question mark after the title.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN
Department of State

WILLIAM J. BOSCH. *Judgment on Nuremberg: American Attitudes toward the Major German War-Crime Trials.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 272. $9.75.

Recent attempts to apply the principles and precedents of the Nuremberg war-crimes trials in order to judge American actions in Viet-

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nam make this a timely book. It is also valuable because it classifies, interprets, and analyzes the extensive American literature on the Nuremberg trials. Although it is restricted to the trials of the major war criminals and to the four power court, the book is more informative on American opinion than its earlier counterpart is for Germany: Wilbourn E. Benton and Georg Grimm, *Nuremberg: German Views of War Trials* (Dallas, 1955).

Each of the book's nine chapters is devoted to a discussion of a particular group's views on four controversial issues: the legality of the tribunal, the composition of the court, the justice of the verdicts, and the effects of the trials for the future. The groups whose opinions are surveyed are American policy makers, international lawyers, Congress, the American public, men of God, American lawyers, historians and foreign affairs writers, the military, and behavioral scientists.

Bosch concentrates on individuals to show the variety and diversity of opinion on the four issues within each of the nine groups he has selected. But he finds, in the balance, that eight of the groups reveal a general acceptance of the war-crimes trials. The ratio of acceptance to condemnation or serious objection he concludes to have been about three to one. Historians and writers on foreign affairs disapproved of the trials, however, also in a ratio of about three to one. Bosch attributes this difference to their dominant creed of realism, a conclusion he reaches after an analysis that he did not apply to any of the other groups in the book.

The book's organization into nine units, each dealing essentially with the same issues and topics, naturally results in repetition. The chapter on the military is perhaps the most interesting one. It discusses, among other things, the implications of the Nuremberg trials for the Truman-MacArthur controversy, the North Vietnamese threat to try American prisoners of war, and the Stockholm war-crimes trial of May 1967.

The bibliography is excellent, and the index is complete.

JOHN GIMBEL
Humboldt State College

ANCIENT

FRANK M. SNOWDEN, JR. *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xxiv, 364. $12.50.

Professor Snowden, chairman of the department of classics at Howard University, has collected much material and many references about "blacks" in antiquity. The title is timely; in the text, when dealing with the archeological evidence, he talks mostly of "Negroes"; when dealing with the literary evidence, he speaks of "Ethiopians," using the term in its ancient sense to refer to the dark-skinned natives of Africa (as distinct from those of Elam, southern India, and elsewhere).

The evidence is treated topically. The first two chapters deal with the physical characteristics of Ethiopians, and an appendix discusses their names. The third chapter deals in general with Greco-Roman knowledge of Ethiopians, the fourth and fifth with military encounters, the sixth with Ethiopians in classical mythology, and the seventh with those in the theater and amphitheater. Finally two chapters discuss the Greco-Roman and early Christian attitudes toward Ethiopians, and a summary concludes the book. The text is supported by 101 pages of illustrations (uneven in quality and inconveniently divided into two sections), 10 pages of notes on the illustrations, 83 pages of notes on the text, and two full indexes (one of names and subjects, one of sources).

The utility of this material is not seriously diminished by a sprinkling of minor slips in historical statements and descriptions. More serious is the author's determination to prove two unlikely theses.

The first of these theses is that "the Ethiopian was no rarity among classical peoples" (p. 217). To prove this Snowden has included a lot of doubtful evidence, much of it on the plea that because Ethiopians are commonly referred to as black, "adjectives denoting black, even in the absence of other evidence, must have indicated Ethiopian extraction" (p. 5).

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(In classical usage the term "black," in reference to persons, often means "of dark complexion" or "dark-haired.") In dealing with archeological objects he often fails to notice that they are examples of types; while the creation of the type may prove Greek observation of Negroes (or may not—some types came from ancient Egypt, the repetition proves only observation of the type. Typical, too, are a number of the artistic conventions here adduced as evidence, notably those to represent curly hair, whether of whites or Negroes. Similarly, in using literary evidence, little attention is paid to the differences between mythological material, history, and romantic narrative; anything from Homer to Heliodorus is apt to be cited at face value. Correction of these faults in method would somewhat diminish the evidence and considerably change its evaluation: it suggests that in the Greco-Roman world Negroes were not extremely rare, but were sufficiently uncommon to interest both artists and the public as exotic types.

The second thesis is that the classical peoples in general had no prejudice against Negroes (though the color black was commonly thought both ugly and unlucky). Defense of this not only entails neglect of the many uses of Negroid figures as apotropaic or grotesque—those not omitted are otherwise "explained" without attention to type—but also the use, as evidence that no prejudice existed, of passages that attack the prejudice. A favorite proof text is Menander's passionate argument (ed. Koerte-Thierfelder, fr. 612) that a good man, even though an Ethiopian, is noble. And the proposition that to early Christians "color was inconsequential," is supported by Gregory of Nyssa's statement that in the heavenly Jerusalem Ethiopians will become white (p. 205; and see Gregory [ed. Jaerger-Langerbeck, 6: 49]). One of the important achievements of the ancient world was to produce some men who rose above its prejudice.

MORTON SMITH
Columbia University

MEDIEVAL

MARJORIE REEVES. *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 574. $14.00.

At the end of the twelfth century the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Flora propounded his theory of the three "states" of history, which were to culminate in a coming age of the Holy Spirit. From then onward his prophecies continued to fascinate medieval reformers and would-be revolutionaries. In this fine work of synthesis Marjorie Reeves has brought together the fruits of her thirty years of work on Joachim and his followers.

The book is divided into four main sections —"The Reputation of the Abbot Joachim," "The New Spiritual Men," "Antichrist and the Last World Emperor," and "Angelic Pope and *Renovatio Mundi*." Each section is subdivided into chapters, which are arranged chronologically. This pattern of organization makes the book hard to use at times. There is, for instance, no single section of it that deals systematically with Joachim's thought as a whole. Often one has to turn to several different, widely scattered chapters to find all the author has to say on a particular point. But, in one place or another, all the major themes are taken up and all the important problems explored. No other modern work attempts such a thorough review of the whole Joachimite tradition. The author also provides a good guide to the extensive scholarly literature on Joachimism and discerning evaluations of the major modern contributions. One would have welcomed, however, some consideration of Ratzinger's *Geschichtstheologie des Heiligen Bonaventura* (1959) in the discussion of Franciscan Joachimism.

A most valuable feature of the book is the author's detailed demonstration of how Joachim's influence outlasted the Middle Ages and lived on in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Protestants found new applications for the prophecies concerning the coming Antichrist and antipope. On the other hand some sixteenth-century Jesuits were as willing as the thirteenth-century Franciscans had been

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to see the advent of their order foretold in Joachim's writings. And Renaissance humanists associated their own dreams of a *renovatio mundi* with Joachim's prophecies of a coming "third age." This last point leads the author to a series of concluding reflections on medieval and Renaissance views of history. The medieval Joachimite tradition was essentially optimistic in that it foresaw an ultimate triumph of righteousness within the framework of human history. Miss Reeves comments on this motif of optimism: "This unites the medieval and Renaissance periods in an unexpected way. . . . Humanist hopes fastened eagerly on medieval symbols of the Golden Age and in a quite extraordinary way the new discoveries, new learning, new printing, new religious orders fell into the pattern as fulfilments of old expectations and portents of the new age dawning. Nowhere perhaps are medieval and humanist thought so closely linked as in this view of history." Altogether this is a fascinating and very valuable book.

BRIAN TIERNEY
Cornell University

LUDO MILIS. *L'ordre des chanoines reguliers d'Arrouaise: Son histoire et son organisation, de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471).* Volume 1, *Texte;* Volume 2, *Cartes* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Number 147.) Bruges: "De Tempel." 1969. Pp. 652; 17 maps.

The Gregorian reform in general and the monastic reforms in particular have received a good deal of attention, even though not yet as much as their fundamental importance warrants. The canons regular, however, constitute a still largely neglected aspect of these crucial reforming movements. Except for the Premonstratensians (mainly because they survived the disasters of the French Revolution), the canonical movement—its history and its effects on history—has received the attention of only a small group of specialists, of whom C. Dereine, J. C. Dickinson, C. Giroud, and J. Siegwart are probably the most outstanding. The important Augustinian congregation of Arrouaise in particular has not received the thorough study it deserves since the publication in 1786 of the work of Dom Gosse, the last prior of the abbey. The appearance of the present work admirably fills this lacuna.

The introductory bibliography of some fifty pages and the discussion of the sources, both printed and manuscript, constitute in themselves a significant contribution to the study of the abbey and its congregation. The author then proceeds to examine the foundation of the hermitage in the Forest of Arrouaise (along the southern border of the County of Artois) in the religious climate of the late eleventh century and its growth into a community of canons regular, into an abbey, and finally into the mother house of the congregation. After examining the initial history of the abbey of Arrouaise in its critical formative period to the end of the twelfth century, the book presents the history of the growth of the congregation of Arrouaise. It examines in detail the expansion of the congregation in its central region, France and the Low Countries, and then progresses geographically toward the periphery: England, Scotland, Ireland, and Poland. The last two chapters present the organization and internal life of both the whole congregation in general and the individual abbeys in particular.

The book is the French translation of the author's doctoral thesis, "De orde der reguliere kanunniken van Arrouaise," submitted to the University of Ghent in 1967. As a thesis it is little short of overwhelming; as a major contribution to an important and much neglected aspect of medieval ecclesiastical history it is excellent: thoroughly researched, clearly presented, copiously documented, precise in its abundant details, and conservative in its general conclusions.

J. BRÜCKMANN
York University

V. T. PASHUTO. *Vneshniaia Politika Drevnei Rusi* [The Foreign Policy of Ancient Rus']. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 471.

V. T. Pashuto's new book describes in extraordinary detail the foreign policy of Kievan Rus from the tenth to the mid-thirteenth century. It is a masterful work that presents,

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one after another, virtually every fact that can be found on the subject in Russian and foreign sources. It has an index of personal and geographical names that exceeds sixty pages, a bibliography of fifty pages, and another fifty pages of footnotes.

The major fault of the book as a specimen of historical literature is the crudeness of its general interpretive scheme. Few would deny that Kievan Rus was a power of great importance in international affairs, that it dominated the eastern extremity of Europe, and that it was a valuable ally as well as an imposing foe. But to assume, as does Pashuto, that there was a Russian nation that had a self-evident historical destiny and to which the people of the region owed allegiance is to permit one's patriotic sensibilities to overcome one's historical judgment, particularly when the nation the author has in mind is an embryonic USSR, with all its non-Slav elements. Only in the eleventh century did there exist a semblance of unity in the Kievan realm. From the late eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century, when the land was conquered by the Mongols, the country was in a condition of what Pashuto accurately terms "feudal fragmentation." During this period there was no reason for the several princes and governments to feel guilty or unpatriotic when they sought their own advantage in relations with "foreign" powers, for they fought among themselves as did the other states of Europe. Kievan Rus was no more a nation than was the Holy Roman Empire.

Despite this interpretive flaw, Pashuto's encyclopedic study should certainly become a standard reference work of early Russian foreign relations.

THOMAS ESPER
Case Western Reserve University

MODERN EUROPE

O. V. ORLIK. *Rossiia i Frantsuzskaia Revoliutsiia 1830 goda.* [Russia and the French Revolution of 1830]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1968. Pp. 213.

Franco Venturi, Martin Malia, and other Western historians have called attention to the importance of the events of 1830 to the Russian revolutionary movement, but Soviet historians, preoccupied by the Decembrist revolt of 1825, have generally failed to assess adequately the role of outside influences. Olga Orlik, in a book authorized for publication in July 1968, attempts to balance the Soviet perspective by stressing the impact upon Russia of the July Revolution in France.

Excerpts from letters, diaries, and censored articles in Soviet archives support the author's conclusion that information about developments in France, despite the efforts of the Third Section and official censors, was rapidly disseminated throughout Russia in regular periodicals and by "irregular means"—by diplomats, merchants, and journalists. These sources were augmented by the impressions of observers such as N. D. Kiselev, secretary of the Russian embassy in Paris, and A. I. Turgenev, brother of a self-exiled Decembrist, and of those Russians—Kologrivov, Kir'iakov, and Poltoratskii—who actually participated in revolutionary activities in France.

The July Revolution, according to Orlik, separated liberals from radicals. By directing attention to contemporary French social thinkers, particularly to Saint-Simon and Fourier, the events of 1830 revived a nearly lost faith in the purpose of revolution for a new generation of radical intelligentsia that included Herzen, Belinsky, Bakunin, and Stankevich. The degree of radicalism inspired by 1830 may be debated, and even less convincing is the author's claim that the Russian intelligentsia, from an analysis of Paris in 1830, "dared to understand the great role of the people in revolution." Orlik's failure to assess the relative influence of events in Poland weakens her interesting thesis that the reaction of the Russian government to what happened in France led to the formulation of Uvarov's "official nationality."

NORMAN E. SAUL
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GIULIANO PROCACCI, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra lo Stato Pontificio e la Francia.* Second Series: 1830–1848. Volume 3 *(8 gennaio*

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1834–31 dicembre 1838). [Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969. Pp. x, 483. L. 5,500.

As in public events in general so also it happens in a long series of state documents that there comes, now and then, a period of quiet with only minor incidents demanding attention. Such a lull characterizes the period 1834–38 in this third volume of Franco-Vatican relations. The editor of these volumes, Giuliano Procacci, cannot omit these unexciting years, but, as he says, he has made a more rigid selection and a wider spacing of those documents reproduced here. In spite of these economies this volume contains 465 pages and 251 documents of correspondence between the papal nuncio in Paris and the papal cardinal secretary of state. A mention of a few of the questions in those years will bear out their relative insignificance: the French withdrawal from Ancona, the Church's condemnation of Lamennais, the opposition to the reduction of French bishoprics, the radical uprisings in Paris and Lyons, the attempted assassinations of Louis-Philippe, French ministerial changes, Talleyrand's deathbed reconciliation with the Church, Carlist revolts in Spain, and the feud between Louis-Philippe and Archbishop Quelen of Paris. In these documents, it will be noted, is material for ecclesiastical as well as diplomatic history. For biographical studies there is material here concerning Louis-Philippe, Louis-Napoleon, Broglie, Guizot, Lamennais, Molé, Talleyrand, Thiers, and Quelen. Typical of Louis-Philippe's unobtrusive foreign policy was the papal chargé's report (p. 199): "The king's system is obvious and notorious: he not only does not want war, but not even, if possible, dissensions or disagreements with other powers." In great-power diplomacy quite often the correspondence of the diplomats of small states such as Belgium and Switzerland gives the historian an impartial and discerning account of events. Unfortunately the Vatican correspondence cannot boast of such impartiality, and thus its usefulness is to some extent diminished.

Once more, only praise can be given for Signor Procacci's selections, editing, and inventories—a fine addition to a scholarly series.

LYNN M. CASE
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ALFRED W. TURNEY. *Disaster at Moscow: Von Bock's Campaigns, 1941–1942.* [Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 288. $6.95.

The subtitle of this short volume is more indicative of its scope than is the title. Over half of the book is devoted to Marshal Fedor von Bock's command of the German Army Group Center during the summer and autumn of 1941 when the principal geographic objective was the capture of Moscow. But the work also treats his earlier professional career at some length and briefly discusses his command of the Army Group South during the winter and spring of 1942.

On the other hand, the discussion of the Moscow campaign is far from definitive. The basic sources are Bock's *Kriegstagebuch* (operational journal) and the voluminous operational journals of the two army groups he commanded. These unpublished documents comprehensively record Bock's own conceptions and his relations with his subordinates. Extensive use of Franz Halder's famous published operational journal illuminates Bock's relations with the general staff and Hitler. Interviews (conducted during the author's earlier career as an American army officer) enhance the realism of the descriptions and occasionally provide important information on operations.

It is not surprising that in a work of this scope the immense documentary material available for lower echelons of Bock's command could not be utilized, or that the author was able to use only a few of the older Soviet treatments of the campaign. Probably the book was finished before Seweryn Bialer's magnificent annotated selection from Soviet histories, memoirs, and military periodicals appeared (*Stalin and His Generals* [1969]). This is regrettable, for Bialer's material would have enabled the author to correct some of the self-serving observations and exculpations presented both in contemporary German documents and in the relatively few postwar German treatments he utilizes. Even more regrettable is

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the fact that he did not use two of the principal English-language treatments of important aspects of the campaign—chapter 18 of John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command* (1962) and Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein, *Moscow in Crisis* (published together with *Communism and the Russian Peasant* [1955]). These works would have helped avoid the drastically oversimplified treatment (and occasional factual blunders) in the peripheral discussion of German military-civil relations. The main theme, however—a critical military episode as seen by the German field commander—is very well presented. The author's unusual combination of professional military expertise with the skills of a professional historian gives his analysis of specifically military developments a depth and sureness that a civilian historian would be hard put to attain.

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG
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JOSEF SCHRÖDER. *Italiens Kriegsaustritt 1943. Die deutschen Gegenmassnahmen im italienischen Raum: Fall "Alarich" und "Achse."* (Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges, Number 10.) Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1969. Pp. 412. DM 72.

This monograph is based on exhaustive research in German documents and sources, on extensive reading in the Allied literature, and on a fair coverage of Italian published materials. Schröder did not have access to Allied archival materials; he did not use the Italian military documents that since 1967 have been available at the National Archives (Microcopy T-821). His narrative and interpretations reflect the strength and weaknesses of his research. Thus the account of the Taylor-Gardiner mission to Rome on the eve of the attack at Salerno, based as it is on Italian memoirs of the immediate postwar period, is woefully inaccurate. The author disregards the careful reconstruction of these events in *Sicily and the Surrender of Italy* (Washington, 1965), which I prepared with Lt. Col. Albert N. Garland for the U.S. Army's official series on World War II. Yet he cites this work from time to time. The elaborate and systematic bibliography and long lists of titles in the footnotes give the impression of great erudition, but is any weight of proof added if the several secondary works all go back to one common source?

The author intentionally restricted himself to the Italian theater, thus excluding German operations against Italian forces in the Balkans after September 8, 1943. Undoubtedly he has given the most thorough account in any language of the German countermeasures, Alarich and Achse. Countermeasures against what? "The German high command," he asserts, "had instinctively foreseen Italy's capitulation, and within a very short time had introduced a number of appropriate measures." But Italy's course after July 25 was not a direct line to unilateral surrender. Considerable evidence for Badoglio's efforts to gain Hitler's understanding for Italy's plight and his assent to her withdrawal from the war is presented in the memoirs of Von Rintelen and Von Plehwe, but this evidence is not considered by Schröder.

Not without justification Schröder characterizes the Allied campaigns in Sicily and Italy as methodical, cautious, and slow, so that real opportunities were missed. But what of the Germans? In the conclusions their operations and plans for coping with Italian surrender are praised as highly efficient and successful. On the other hand their preparations against Italian "treason" tended to drive Italy into surrender to the Allies. In concentrating their preparations against the Italian armed forces, they built up two armies in echelon in the Peninsula, with Rommel's divisions in the north forbidden to cross the line of the northern Apennines. Two overstrength Panzer divisions stood idle in the north while the German Tenth Army fought in vain to prevent the Allied landing at Salerno.

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WALTER C. RICHARDSON. *Mary Tudor: The White Queen.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 328. $10.00.

Mary Tudor is known to history through a single, almost implausibly romantic appearance: this beautiful and lively girl, the favorite sister of Henry VIII, was sent to be the bride of a decrepit and declining king of France. When he died after less than three months

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of marriage, his widow made a quick love-match, at the risk of her favor, her fortune, and possibly her neck, with a handsome but base-born courtier. What Professor Richardson's careful biography indicates is that there is not really a lot more worth knowing about Mary. Mr. Richardson is able to remove the gaudier embellishments that Mary's story acquired through contemporary gossip or more recent sentimentality: at the age of eighteen or nineteen, she cannot be called a child-bride, and there is no indication that she was especially reluctant to marry Louis XII. For him the marriage was not a piece of senile folly; it offered him a last hope for producing an heir to his throne, not an impossible dream for a man in his early fifties, and it guaranteed a diplomatic arrangement with England. Whether Louis' death was brought on by his exertions in the marriage bed remains mercifully uncertain, but it is known that he was already broken in health. Finally, there is no real evidence that Mary had anything more than a casual acquaintance with the Duke of Suffolk before the French episode. She had extracted from Henry VIII, a promise that she would be able to pick her next spouse herself—a promise that Henry would surely have broken if his interests suggested it—but the notion that she and Suffolk had already been lovers is now seen as both unprovable and improbable.

Unfortunately for her biographer, Mary made very little impact upon her age. She was simply a conspicuously placed woman around whom things happened. The French marriage and the alliance it cemented had no lasting consequences. Mary had no influence on either English or French policy; she was not a patron of arts or learning; she had no involvement in the great religious issues; she left no body of correspondence that could illuminate politics or behavior. Lacking anything better with which to deal, her biographer is forced to fall back on accounts of events in which Mary was a more or less passive participant. The result is less a biography than a description of the details of Tudor court life. Mr. Richardson is a man of enormous learning and gives us much that has intrinsic interest: precise narratives of marriage negotiations, contemporary speculations as to ideals of feminine beauty, meticulous descriptions of the costumes and the court ceremonies the Tudors loved, an elaborate summary of the piece of Renaissance mummery known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. When Richardson occupies himself with these matters, Mary nearly disappears; alternatively, when he focuses on Mary's private life so that the biography may be carried forward, nothing very substantial or important seems to emerge. He has done his work with great care and has written the most thorough life of the "White Queen" we can ever expect. That having been said, Mary remains "a minor Tudor character," in the words of the preface, and one wonders if the game was worth the candle.

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PAUL S. SEAVER. *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560–1662.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 402. $12.50.

JOHN F. WILSON. *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640–1648.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 289. $10.00.

WILLIAM M. LAMONT. *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603–60.* [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 200. $5.95.

These three good books have to do in one way or another with Puritanism, a venerable but increasingly elusive area of inquiry. Seaver studies the institution established in the time of Queen Elizabeth I to answer the demand of English Protestants for more sermons. He believes that this investigation is "one way to assess the impact of the rather amorphous Puritan movement on English society." Seaver's and Wilson's books are to some extent complementary. While Wilson emphasized the sermons preached to the Long Parliament, Seaver, who studied the lives and careers of the lecturers themselves, did most of his manuscript work on the seven hundred lecturers who are known to have been in London. For good reasons lectureships were of crucial importance in the capital, for around seventy per cent of the regular pulpits there were controlled by Church and Crown, compared to one estimate for the whole country in 1604 of five-sixths being in lay hands. Seaver forces us to

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think in detail about lay ambitions toward the Church in prerevolutionary England. He says in ten or so different ways that "if the history of the lectureships demonstrates anything, it is the existence of a powerful drive among the laity to control the Church, at least at the parochial level. This thrust was not unrelated to Puritanism as such, since the latter justified and gave confidence to the godly laity, but the drive for control was perhaps even more fundamental." I am led, indeed, to believe that this thesis of lay ambition or anticlericalism came to have more importance in Seaver's mind than his earlier notion of connecting the lectureships with Puritanism. When Seaver examined the London lectureships on his own, he found that the Puritans did not hold a majority of the posts on an annual basis except before 1580 and after 1640. In total numbers they did a little better. Of the seven hundred London lecturers studied, "at least 52 per cent (368) were almost certainly Puritans and another 8 per cent (54) probably were." But no doubt remains, especially in the chapter on Laud, that Seaver is drawn to the Puritans whom he views generally as being on the side of progress. He subtly explains the reasons for Laud's failure to get rid of the Puritan lecturers in London, and he tells us that between 1628 and 1640 the total number of London lecturers declined from 121 to 73, Puritans from 59 to 42. After showing his distaste for the Caroline regime, Seaver says near the end that "there were more Puritan lecturers in the City in 1640 than in any year before 1626." But Seaver's tables show that he should have said "fewer," not "more." How is one to explain this slip of the pen? Seaver's commitment to the overthrow of the old regime, however, does not prevent this from being a valuable study.

Perhaps there could have been more obvious commitment in Wilson's excellent but occasionally dry "monograph on the preaching to the Long Parliament." He feels that his book corrects earlier and shorter examinations of the subject by H. R. Trevor-Roper, James Spalding, and others. In my view, Wilson's careful reading and analysis of over two hundred sermons has enabled him to make fruitful suggestions, but in basic interpretation he has veered between Trevor-Roper's more political interpretation and Spalding's more religious emphasis. Wilson tells us that of 125 men who preached, the sermons of 110 had been published (listed in one of several appendixes), and of the latter group the vast majority were members of the Westminster Assembly. He is able to identify the major preachers and their patrons. Four men, Stephen Marshall, Joseph Caryl, Obadiah Sedgwick, and Richard Vines, delivered over 60 sermons. Of 217 published sermons in Wilson's three main categories, 162 were taken from the Old Testament, with the Book of Psalms coming in first with thirty-nine and Isaiah second with twenty-five. Wilson postpones the intellectual heart of his book until the last three chapters, where he discusses the style, texts, doctrines, and significance of the sermons. He emphasizes in the penultimate chapter how Puritanism helped the nation understand the times of civil war and in the last chapter how the times of civil war changed Puritanism. Much of this makes exciting reading and balances the more technical early chapters.

In his last chapter Wilson's ideas confront the major theses of Lamont's "modest little essay," which was written, I think, to explain his conviction that millenarianism in the early seventeenth century was part of the intellectual framework of all church groups, not the "creed for cranks" that it later became. Wilson ends with millenarianism, but he tends not to see it at work before 1640. Wilson and Lamont are both putting forward interpretations as to why Puritanism lost its coherence and confidence at some point in the 1640s. They both emphasize 1644–45 and a division within millenarianism, and both de-emphasize, in Wilson's words, "technical issues of church polity as the fundamental source of division within the movement," although Lamont gives great weight to the suspension controversy over the admission to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Wilson makes a distinction between "prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies" in the minds of the religious leaders of the 1640s, the former being the majoritarian and reformist version, the latter having elitist and revolutionary tendencies and forming, in Wilson's view, the base of Independency. Lamont's distinction, following Norman Cohn, is between centrifugal and centripetal millenarianism, terms I

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find rather ungraceful but helpful in leading us back to the conservative eschatology prevalent in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. Both in this book and in an article in *Past and Present* ("Puritanism as History and Historiography: Some Further Thoughts," no. 44 [1969]: 33–46), which should be read with the book if the author's preconceptions are to be grasped, Lamont takes Michael Walzer to task for ignoring John Foxe and overrating the revolutionary nature of English Calvinism. Lamont, a subtle revisionist who bears some intellectual resemblance to C. H. George, finds room for both conservative and revolutionary millenarianism in a concept or model of stages of English Protestant thought, all depending on the Book of Revelation and running from Foxe and Jewel to Oliver Cromwell, whose "Godless Rule" marked a permanent change of approach. It is a complicated story of gradual disenchantment. The final break came when the English leaders after 1645 began to lose confidence in their ability to read God's mind, for the "idea of a 'Godly Rule' had only ever been tenable on the assumption that God's Will was intelligible." In this view Hobbes and the Cromwell of the 1650s were both Calvinists who agreed on God's inscrutability. By the time of the Protectorate, "The Book of Job had conquered the Book of Revelation." Lamont also has fresh things to say about James I, Arminianism, and Erastianism. My main criticism is that Lamont, the author of one book on William Prynne, has brought his friend into most of the arguments in this book and thus to some extent has written another book on Prynne. But his knowledge of a central character is more a strength than a weakness.

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CLAIRE CROSS, editor. *The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings, 1574–1609.* (Somerset Record Society, Volume 69.) [Yeovil: the Society.] 1969. Pp. xxxiii, 141.

Despite rising costs, many of the English county record societies continue their laudable custom of publishing original source materials. The present volume brings together eighty-eight items relating to Sir Francis Hastings (1546?–1610), younger brother of the third Earl of Huntingdon, whose career Miss Cross described in her earlier book *The Puritan Earl* (1966). Nearly half of the documents are among the Hastings papers acquired by the Huntington Library in 1927; the others are from the Public Record Office, the British Museum, Hatfield House, and other private repositories in England.

These letters tell us much about Hastings himself, especially about his Puritan, but not schismatic, views in religion. They also further illuminate the financial straits of the Earl of Huntingdon, whose affairs in the West Country Hastings undertook to manage, even moving to Somerset from the family seat in Leicestershire. (During these years Huntingdon was president of the Council of the North; we are reminded how severely Elizabeth overworked and underpaid her officers of state.) Among the items of more general interest are a letter to one of the councilors of James I, urging that the king not request a subsidy in the Parliament of 1604, as he would probably be rebuffed, and several letters to Salisbury condemning the Gunpowder Plot.

Miss Cross's introduction provides an admirable, brief biography of Hastings. She is a bit pedantic in reproducing some obvious slips by Hastings' secretary: thus the Lord's spirit is "scantyfyinge" (read "sanctyfyinge") and a certain offer is "vayne grolyous" (surely "vayne gloryous" and not, as Miss Cross glosses it in a footnote, senseless). As I read the manuscript, the unclear word on page 61 is more likely to be "prowdlie" than Miss Cross's suggested "previouslie," which is meaningless. The genealogical table could have been expanded to include some relationships mentioned only in the notes. The index would have been easier to use if it contained page numbers, not document numbers. On the whole, however, the editorial work matches the very high level of interest sustained by the letters themselves.

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MAURICE LEE, JR. *James I and Henri IV: An Essay in English Foreign Policy, 1603–1610.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 192. $7.95.

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Professor Lee examines English foreign policy under James I from the unusual viewpoint of relations with France, supplementing the re-evaluation of that monarch's Spanish policy that was initiated by the studies of the late Garrett Mattingley and continued by Charles H. Carter. The author shows how the refusal of James and Cecil to formulate a definite policy of any kind toward France, Spain, or the Dutch left England in a hopelessly disadvantageous position, though James himself was willing to accept, within limits, the patronage of the more decisive and experienced Henri. The result was the Hispano-Dutch truce of 1609, which was welcome to neither England nor France, but was much more detrimental to the former. In 1610 Henri was on the point of involving England in war with Spain over the Cleves-Julich succession; to that extent his death was an advantage, but his death left England floundering more helplessly than ever, policy-less and unprepared. It was more by luck than good judgment that France, during the minority of Louis XIII, did not achieve a rapprochement with Spain that would have left England isolated.

Professor Lee's study is not a work of major importance, but it is well researched and makes its points. The author writes with his usual grace and skill, and the dry bones of diplomacy are quickened by the contrasted personalities of two extraordinary kings. The absence of a bibliography, however, in a specialized monograph published by an academic press, is surprising.

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M. S. GIUSEPPI and G. DYFNALLT OWEN, editors. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O., C.B., T.D., Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.* Part 20 (A.D. 1608). (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 9.) London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 434. $36.00 postpaid.

Almost half a century ago Professor C. P. Cheyney stated in a review of an earlier volume of the calendar of the Salisbury (Burghley) manuscripts (*AHR*, 29 [1923]:167) that its publication "has been an inestimable boon to scholars." This was proper commendation of a magnificent contribution to historical documentation; and the same must be said now about this much later but equally welcome volume calendaring the Hatfield Papers of Burghley's son for the year 1608. This work, prepared by M. S. Giuseppi (who did not live to see it published) and G. Dyfnallt Owen, who revised the text and prepared the editorial aids, covers a year, which in the words of the latter, was "not a particularly eventful one in the reign of James I." Such an evaluation of the twelvemonth will not elicit universal agreement from his reading audience, even though no single event stands out in that year as a major historical marker. Indeed, considering the incredible variety of topics and problems encountered in these instruments, practically every researcher in early Stuart history will find indicators to much that is decidedly eventful. Of particular importance are the letters, directives, newsletters, and memorandums dealing with commerce, monopolies, Irish and Scottish affairs, local government, piracy, Parliament, the privy council, and Cecil's search for royal financial wherewithall. About one-fifth of these holophotal materials relate to sensitive problems in foreign relations, and there is an abundance of supportive evidence for the study of James's royal proclamations. But, too, it should be pointed out that preoccupation with the volume's contribution to historical studies should not be allowed to obscure the beauty of the art or the precision of the science involved in the editorial labors of its creators. In this instant case anyone even remotely familiar with the magnificently casual attitude of early modern English clerks, canons, and chancellors toward the menial act of hand-recording will marvel at the almost infinite immensity of holographic materials scouted, sorted, and transcribed by the editors. Finally, and of minor importance, the volume's introduction is overly brief, while the index, although detailed and comprehensive, is irritatingly time-consuming to use.

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CALHOUN WINTON. *Sir Richard Steele, M.P.: The Later Career.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 265. $9.00.

Although he is regarded primarily as a writer, Sir Richard Steele, as Professor Winton indicates, devoted much of his later career to parliamentary politics. Consequently this study is as much a contribution to the political as it is to the literary history of the early eighteenth century. Happily its author deals authoritatively with both, besides providing a readable and convincing narrative of Steele's private life.

Steele's political career after the death of Queen Anne ran into the complexities of the Whig schism. Despite being the nominee of the staunchly pro-Court Duke of Newcastle at Boroughbridge, he managed to maintain an independent position in Parliament, eventually emerging as a supporter of Walpole against the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry. Professor Winton takes one through these labyrinths with such ease that the reader is not made uncomfortably aware of the maze of evidence, both primary and secondary, that his guide has mastered in the process of tracing Steele's path.

Steele's literary pursuits, of course, were not divorced from his political career. On the contrary some of his periodical essays provide the key to his changing attitudes in this period. In his *Englishman* of 1715, for instance, he defended the government's initial moves against the discredited Tory ministers of Queen Anne's last ministry, and he attacked the Jacobites who rose in the 'Fifteen. In the *Plebeian* of 1719, by contrast, he opposed the government's sponsorship of the Peerage Bill, and he took on as his chief opponent his former collaborator Addison, who supported the measure in the *Old Whig*. Such contributions, however, were not as significant as the essays Steele wrote for the *Tatler,* when, as Professor Winton asserts, he invented the literary periodical, or those for the *Spectator*. His most outstanding achievement in these years was not an essay but a play, *The Conscious Lovers,* which brought about "the renewal of his literary fame, the revival of his reputation as a writer rather than as a controversial Member of Parliament."

Professor Winton rounds out his treatment of the public figure with a sympathetic account of the private man. Steele's dealings with his wife and family, with his creditors and debtors, with the theater and the Fish Pool project are all deftly inserted into a sound and agreeable narrative. Items that could not be so readily incorporated are reserved for seven appendixes, two of which deal with Steele's alleged freemasonry and homosexuality. Professor Winton was presumably not thinking of subscribers to the *American Historical Review* when he wrote that the latter is "of considerably greater interest to twentieth-century readers."

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MARGARET GEORGE. *One Woman's "Situation": A Study of Mary Wollstonecraft.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 174. $6.50.

Though editors and publishers have treated the works and life of Mary Wollstonecraft, she has not, says Dr. George, had an "interpreter." What we know about Wollstonecraft has "a different perspective within a close concentration on the woman held fast in, and indeed defining, the woman's 'situation.'" Presenting the essential facts of her life more or less chronologically, the book pursues and interprets Wollstonecraft in her quest for identity in a man's world and a bourgeois society that inhibited women. The first quarter of the book is labored; the remainder is less pretentious, freer of jargon and psychological intrusions, as though the author were surer of herself after she got past Wollstonecraft's childhood and adolescence. The book is infused with righteous purpose and Simone de Beauvoir. It is an attempt at what Dr. George calls "pre-history," that is, the period before today, with the life of Mary Wollstonecraft being "an important pre-historic document." The book may interest persons who desire an interpretation of Wollstonecraft from such a point of view. Historians a century hence may read it to learn about the state of mind of those in 1970 who felt the bliss of being alive when, with the "dawning of self-realization" of women, history was beginning.

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DONALD H. AKENSON. *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century.* (Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume 7.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1970. Pp. x, 430. $12.50.

Commentators have long noted that Britain was able to experiment in Ireland along lines that were unacceptable at home; that Ireland, for instance, got a system of national education in 1831, forty years earlier than England. In this volume Professor Akenson traces the origin, structure, and development of that system and the pressures that modified it. He finds that the government had a tradition of interference with Irish education and that the Whigs in 1831, following the recommendations of parliamentary commissions and committees, simply put into practice ideas that had been debated, tried, and generally accepted in the previous two decades. The national schools were less successful than private ones in attracting Catholics and Protestants to the same classroom, but they did educate cheaply a large number of pupils and were responsible for a spectacular increase in literacy. Akenson blames the Protestants for the rapid development of the denominational character of the system. In its early years, when success was still uncertain, the Presbyterians attacked both the schools and the system. When they joined, in 1840, it was on their own terms. Next the Anglicans withdrew and established a network of their own under the Church Education Society. In the absence of Protestants most schools became Roman Catholic by default. The schools were under the formal control of commissioners who paid salaries, hired inspectors, controlled the use of textbooks, and could dismiss teachers. Akenson is happiest in dealing with the bureaucracy that grew up to support the commissioners and in describing the fluctuations of their power.

The main emphasis of the volume is on the first half of the century. It is flawed by Akenson's carelessness in use of his sources and in his treatment of personalities. E. G. Stanley is described as Lord Stanley at a time when his father, who bore that title, was still active in politics. Lord Francis Leveson-Gower is called Lord Gower, a title he never held. Lord Plunket's name is occasionally misspelled. Sir Henry Parnell is deprived of his Sir and is frequently credited with his brother's actions. Charles and William Grant are hopelessly confused. Lord Eliot became Lord St. Germans, and his policies as chief secretary and as viceroy should be compared. The distinguished political economist Mountifort Longfield is described as faceless because that suits the conclusions of the author. The book is of use, however, to those who are interested in the details of how religious instruction was presented in what was technically a nondenominational system.

MARY D. CONDON
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LEONARD G. WILSON, editor. *Sir Charles Lyell's Scientific Journals on the Species Question.* (Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine, Number 5.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. lxi, 572. $17.50.

Lyell was the greatest name in geology in the nineteenth century. He provided an insight into geological theorizing that had an effect similar to that of Darwin's theory in the realm of biology. Although only twelve years older than Darwin, Lyell's impact on geology began more than twenty-five years before the *Origin of Species* burst upon the world of biology. Darwin owed no small debt to the eminent geologist who befriended him and who, together with Henslow the botanist, introduced him to the scientific establishment of Victorian Britain.

In this single volume Professor Wilson provides us with a scrupulously well-edited transcription of the seven journal-notebooks that Lyell filled with facts and observations on "the Species Question" between November 1855 and December 1861. Dr. Wilson also gives the general reader a lengthy introduction in which these evolutionary speculations are set in the context of Lyell's life and work.

Lyell opened the first notebook as the direct result of the impression made on him by A. R. Wallace's speculative essay on the species question that had appeared the previous September. Since it is Dr. Wilson who, in agreement with other scholars, points this out, it is

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difficult to accept his statement in the preface that "the journals show that, as early as 1855, Lyell had come *independently* to consider seriously the scientific possibility of the transmutation of species" (italics mine). The date of the last entry in the seventh journal corresponds with Lyell's beginning the writing of his own work, *The Antiquity of Man,* in 1861.

It is fairly common knowledge among historians of biology that the most sensitive aspect of the Lyell-Darwin relationship was that Lyell never seemed to have wholeheartedly accepted the Darwinian theory. The crux of Lyell's caution was thought to be his natural theology and the question of the possible physical origins of the mind and/or soul. And, indeed, reading through the journals does show that until 1860 Lyell moved toward Darwin's theory.

At first one forms the impression that Lyell's new doubts and hesitancies, which appear just after the *Origin* itself, are related to the barrage of antitransmutation criticisms from large numbers of the biological establishment to whom he might understandably defer. But, taking the content and attitude of the journals as a whole, it becomes clear that Lyell could never quite figure out if Darwin and his theory fell in with what he termed the Progressionists (of whom Lamarck was the best example) or the Transmutationists (such as Huxley, Darwin's greatest interpreter). Was the substantive basis of evolutionary change merely a slight, continuous, derivative extension of what had come before? Or was it genuine, discrete, novelty—mutative in nature and therefore discontinuous? Lyell seemed to change in his caution to exactly the extent and degree that Darwin wavered in his emphasis. For Lyell there could be no continuity between man and preceding forms.

There is more, however, to these seven journals than the purely biological speculations of an eminent geologist, however well informed. They represent the systematic explorations of the interrelationships between the physical world and the life that it more than simply contains.

If underpaid scholars can manage the rather high cost of this volume, they will find much that bears on nineteenth-century biological and geological thought.

P. J. VORZIMMER
Temple University

R. S. SAYERS. *Gillets in the London Money Market, 1867–1967.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 204. $5.60.

The discount houses of London, dealing in commercial bills, bonds, and government paper, originally served as important agents for the financing of international trade, but with changing techniques of payment and shifting patterns of international commerce they became more important as buffers between the Bank of England and the clearing banks. Gillett Brothers Discount Co. Ltd., founded by a family of Quaker bankers in Oxfordshire, developed from a small partnership with a capitalization of £50,000 in 1867 to a public company with assets of better than four million in 1967. To celebrate the centennial, the grandson of a founder sought to have the history of the family financial operations written. Miss Audrey Taylor wrote the history of the family banking in *Gilletts: Bankers of Banbury and Oxford* (1965). Now Professor Sayers has completed the task with his study of the discount house.

Professor Sayers brings to the subject a broad knowledge of banking and a specific knowledge of the Bank of England during the period. With access to the records of the firm, he has produced a very short volume that centers on the organization of the company and its struggle for profits through a century complicated by two major wars, a panic, a depression, the decline of British trade, and the end of empire. Sayers shows that success stemmed from increased capital, the organization of the London Discount Market Association, and the willingness of both the clearing banks and the Bank of England to let discount houses survive.

LEWIS A. HAINLIN
Drake University

WILLIAM S. PETERSON. *Interrogating the Oracle: A History of the London Browning Society.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 276. $10.00.

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The London Browning Society, that quizzical literary front formed by F. J. Furnivall in 1881 in order to rescue the poet from a meager following and poor sales, has long been the butt of anecdotes. In writing its history, William S. Peterson has wisely adapted the comic perspective employed by previous commentators. His full and well-documented account, enriched by unpublished sources and a full page reproduction of a cartoon depicting the Girton College girls abandoning their Browning for the delights of the sweet shop, should provide pleasant reading for anyone with an itch for Victorian curiosities. Peterson's sanity, his gift for capsule biographies, and his first-rate command of Browning's poetry and Browning criticism make this study a fine contribution, as well, to our knowledge of the poet and his supporters.

Peterson is weakest in his attempts to place the society in a wider social and historical context. Seeing the society—despite iconoclast members such as G. B. Shaw—as primarily an institution to remake the elusive and difficult dramatic poet into a latter-day prophet of optimism in an age of doubt, Peterson fails to provide any precise description of the social or cultural milieu of its members. His "representative Browningites" are more properly prominent Browningites; he does not support the claim that the society was itself significant as a part of the general movement for working-class education; and by refusing to go beyond the London Society into its many offshoots, especially in America, he misses the opportunity to examine the wider impact of the society upon the middle-class public at large.

The author's admiration for Furnivall, a refreshingly bullish promoter in the china-shop world of late Victorian literary society, is a useful corrective to the more usual detractions. Yet here again, a wider sense of the historical and social context would be welcome: Furnivall's well-meaning but blundering and insensitive attempts to push Browning into popularity are perhaps best understood as part of a general trend toward democratization of culture. Ironically, as Peterson points out, Browning, the predecessor of difficult, even deliberately obscure modern writers, was very strange porridge to offer up to the masses. This account of the comedy of miscomprehension put on by the Browning Society may leave us, even while it amuses, with strong doubts about the advisability of such popularizing crusades.

JOHN MAYNARD
Harvard University

T. O. LLOYD. *Empire to Welfare State: English History, 1906–1967*. (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 465. Cloth $10.00, paper $2.95.

This book will be widely read. As the first volume to appear of what one may expect will be a distinguished series, The Short Oxford History of the Modern World, it becomes important immediately. But it is disappointing.

Professor Lloyd writes well and in the earlier parts of the book, particularly on domestic politics, he displays some arresting insights. In pointing out that Lloyd George's introduction of businessmen into the wartime coalition government was regarded as a progressive and liberal step before the armistice but as a return to reaction after it, he has drawn my attention to one of those obvious but unremarked truths that make the reading of general history surveys worthwhile. Again his discussion of the tangled logic of the early movement for tariff reform is excellent.

Yet one cannot help wishing that Lloyd had spent more time thinking out the book. There are two basic problems. First, he provides an uneven coverage of his period, almost totally disregarding foreign affairs until the era of Chamberlain. Second, and more serious, there is an absence of any real, overall conception of what he ought to be trying to convey to his readers.

The author not only neglects foreign policy but positively avoids any discussion of it in dealing with the crowded years between 1906 and 1936. In contrast to two pages on the Marconi incident, Agadir rates one sentence. The Haldane mission and the consequent naval arrangements with France—the implementation of the Entente—get no mention. External relations from Chanak to the invasion of Ethiopia earn three paragraphs and even these are oriented toward the impact of foreign policy

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upon domestic politics—the Zinoviev letter, the Oxford Union debate of 1933, and the Peace Ballot.

But a greater problem is the breakdown in unity of the author's story about halfway through the book. The title suggests the theme that was intended. Certainly the history of the evolution of Britain from an international power whose chief interests and problems were external to an inward-looking state preoccupied first of all with the economic and social welfare of its own people, provides a story worth telling. It can be argued that social welfare is as valid a field for scholarly investigation as economic, diplomatic, or constitutional history. Unfortunately, there is no such story, although legislative acts and newspaper proposals are described at length. The period since 1945 is covered as if it were written from the *Annual Register*, which, indeed, is frequently cited as a source. The book plods forward, year by year, with details from each budget and capsule descriptions of the major debates in Parliament. There is neither prologue nor summary.

It would probably not be useful, and it would certainly be fruitless, to ask for a "Portrait of an Age" in the old style of Trevelyan, Marriott, Bryant, or G. M. Young, but modern scholarship is entitled to look for more than an extended collection of the *Times'* annual reviews of the events of the year.

BENTLEY B. GILBERT
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

DAVID CARLTON. *MacDonald versus Henderson: The Foreign Policy of the Second Labour Government*. New York: Humanities Press, 1970. Pp. 239. $11.00.

Mr. Carlton's dramatic title is rather misleading. Far from being the study of a duel between two leading political figures, the book is a scholarly and competent study of British foreign policy from 1929 to 1931. It makes use both of the published British documents and of archival materials; indeed what Mr. Carlton has been able to glean from the archives shows that even the existence of the very comprehensive series of *Documents on British Foreign Policy* does not obviate the need to look further. Various private collections of papers have also been explored, some probably for the first time for this purpose.

That the relations between the prime minister and his foreign secretary were at times unusually strained and that on some issues, notably relations with the United States and the question of naval disarmament, MacDonald largely kept matters in his own hands is true. But it is also true that Philip Snowden, the chancellor of the exchequer, also played an independent role, particularly in relation to the German financial crisis of the summer of 1931. The Treasury and the Bank of England had their own views as to what should be done, which were not the same as Henderson's. Yet over many of the issues of the period in relation both to the League of Nations and European affairs, and to general disarmament and policies towards the Soviet Union, China, and Egypt, the differences were matters of nuance rather than of basic policy.

Their nominal socialist faith making relatively little difference, MacDonald and Henderson were both close to the central position taken by most British statesmen throughout the interwar period. That position was to rely on the League of Nations to avert direct clashes without incurring automatic commitments unacceptable to public opinion or the Dominions. But Henderson was much more convinced of the importance of strengthening "collective security" than MacDonald, who had a more isolationist streak in him. Henderson in consequence was much more prepared to listen to French arguments and much more suspicious of German revisionism when this began to become vocal again in 1930. Mr. Carlton takes care to go into the substance of the issues of the period, and only occasionally forgets that his readers may not be as familiar with the technicalities as he is.

MAX BELOFF
All Souls College, Oxford

W. N. MEDLICOTT *et al.*, editors. *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*. Second Series, Volume 10, *Far Eastern Affairs, March–October 1932*. London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York, 1969. Pp. lxxxiv, 833. $23.04 postpaid.

In the period covered by this volume the main

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developments in the Far Eastern crisis were the lengthy negotiations that led to the Japanese withdrawal from Shanghai, the creation and eventual Japanese recognition of the state of Manchukuo, and finally the publication of the long-awaited Lytton Report. It must not be forgotten, however, that these events were interwoven with issues dealt with in volumes 3 and 4 of this series: notably security, disarmament, and the new turn given to the matter of the American debt by the Lausanne Conference.

While mindful above all of Britain's almost defenseless state in the area of the Far East, the Foreign Office continued its attempts to avoid the initiative and to satisfy all interested parties. As Simon wrote in September 1932: "Our controlling considerations must be (1) be faithful to the League and act with the main body if possible (2) do not take the lead in an attitude which, while necessarily futile, will antagonise Japan seriously (3) be fair to both China and Japan (4) work to keep Japan in the League." Extremism was deplored, from whatever quarter: from expatriates in Shanghai who wished to press the Chinese for better terms for the International Settlement there; from small states at Geneva ("With vital interests at stake," noted Eden, "we must continue to moderate the zeal of those who have none."); or from a sometimes-intemperate secretary of state in Washington, from whom Simon had at least wrung the admission that nothing more than verbal protest could be contemplated. The volume ends with the relieved conclusion being drawn in Whitehall that the Lytton Report (a fair document, and therefore a cornucopia of comfort for men of all views) indicated that, at bottom, "the balance of right inclines to [Japan's] side." Presumably the succeeding volume will include a crucial and lengthy series of memorandums and minutes of the following December in which the dilemma of what to do should Tokyo still refuse all conciliation was faced.

The selection of documents has once more been admirable, and above all appears to include more minutes than in earlier volumes, minutes being often of greater value than the dispatches, especially in this period when the Foreign Office played a larger part in shaping policy than it was to do in the later 1930s. (In passing, it may be remarked how much easier it is for the researcher to follow the dialectic within the Foreign Office than within the U.S. Department of State, whose archives for this period are filed in a manner that frequently separates comment from what is commented upon, and contain precious little of the former in any case. One's impression is strengthened that Joseph Grew was right when he privately bemoaned the inefficiency of his organization compared to the one that was backing his fellow ambassador, Sir Francis Lindley. Stimson and company made up for it by their diaries, of course.) The usual word of warning must be added, however. Vital though they are, these documents alone are not sufficient for a complete study of the formulation of British policy. As Professor Marder demonstrated in a recent article in this journal, the papers of the cabinet, cabinet committees, the Committee of Imperial Defence, and so forth, remain equally important.

CHRISTOPHER THORNE
University of Sussex

ROBERT WRIGHT. *The Man Who Won the Battle of Britain*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. 291. $6.95.

Robert Wright, who was personal assistant to both Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding when the latter was commander-in-chief of the Fighter Command, and to Dowding's successor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Douglas, has found himself in an embarrassing position in writing this book. He helped write Sholto Douglas' memoirs; now he has found out that Douglas' account of the critical meeting at the Air Ministry on October 17, 1940, was not in accordance with the facts. *The Man Who Won the Battle of Britain* is devoted to setting the record straight, and it is a book that has long been needed, not to tell the story of the Battle of Britain, but to explain what happened to its victor, "Stuffy" Dowding. Interest in this perplexing question has recently been heightened by the movie *The Battle of Britain* and the book on the making of the movie, as well as by a small cascade of books on the battle itself. Of the latter, the most definitive now is Francis K. Mason's *Battle over Britain* (1969). The battle over the Battle has not yet assumed the

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proportions of the Jutland controversy, but it is heading that way.

The tragedy of Wright's book from our point of view is that it lacks an accurate historical background, which prevents its author from exploring all possible explanations of the phenomenon he observed, and that it has no footnotes. The latter point is not in this case academic pedantry; it is essential since the whole work is a careful brief prepared to defend Dowding and his conduct of the Battle.

The roots of the problem go back to the First World War. Dowding was a fighter. He was to spend most of his career in a Royal Air Force devoted to bomber mythology. Dowding, an organizer, had an upright Victorian manner; he suffered because he was not a politician but rather a power in the RAF. On top of this he was a realist who told Churchill when he was wrong. The story of his fall is intimately tied to the tactical question of how to meet the Luftwaffe—with one or two squadrons or by marshaling three to five into wings. It was only as the Battle passed its crisis that Dowding began to realize that he was being knifed in the back by his subordinate group commander, Air Vice-Marshal Leigh-Mallory, through Squadron Leader Bader's adjutant, who was an M.P. with access to the prime minister.

The picture that emerges is not one of which the British can be proud. Wright's book will be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the period, but it is by no means the last word.

ROBIN HIGHAM
Kansas State University

ROLAND MOUSNIER and his collaborators. *Le Conseil du Roi: De Louis XII à la Révolution.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 56. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne, Number 6.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 378. 56 fr.

This collaborative work, conceived and directed by Professor Mousnier, contains extensive contributions by fifteen members of his research seminar at the Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne at the Sorbonne. The book's title, unfortunately, is misleading; this is not a history of the royal council as an institution, but an analysis of the social history of its membership. Furthermore, the emphasis is almost entirely upon the years 1515–59 and the longer period from the *Fronde* to the French Revolution, doubtless because Professor Mousnier earlier made available similar information for the first half of the seventeenth century in volume 1 of his *Lettres et Mémoires adressées au Chancelier Séguier* (Paris, 1964). In fact, the present work is in many ways a further application of the techniques and collaborative methods developed in Mousnier's seminar and used successfully in his earlier publication. Within this framework, this new study of the royal council is very valuable indeed. After reminding the reader of the evolution of the various sections of the royal council, the first part of the book gives extensive statistical information concerning all major elements of its members' social positions and relationships during selected portions of the two indicated periods. Major attention is given to the corps of masters of requests, their increasing significance as the main source of members of the council, and especially the multitudinous factors that determined their positions in society. Fundamentally, therefore, the work is a social history of that segment of the professional group known as the robe that succeeded in gaining entry into the most prestigious institution in the royal administration.

The remaining three-fourths of the book consists of special studies by Professor Mousnier's pupils of representative members of the royal council: Chancellors Cheverny and Boucherat; the Secretaries of State Bochetel, Châteauneuf, Croissy, and Torcy; the Councillors of State Goulfier, Guillart, and Pussort; and the Masters of Requests Budé and Bernières. Giving only minimal attention to their administrative activities, these chapters invariably follow the outline suggested by Professor Mousnier and emphasize each man's intellectual life and personal beliefs; all elements of his *statut social*, that is, his poisition in the social hierarchy, his ties of family, social relationships and profession, and the values that each entailed; his financial situation; and the extent and nature of his clientele. All are expertly analyzed as far as the sources permit.

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From these indications the value of the book should be clear. Based upon extensive original research under the direction of a master craftsman, it analyzes the structure and functioning of prerevolutionary French society in relation to its government by focusing upon a key professional group, the masters of requests, and asking the right questions. Particularly striking is the treatment of the factors that both abetted and limited this group's upward social mobility from bourgeois professionals to noble members of the royal council—noble because of their offices but with a status never fully accepted by the nobility of the sword. By making available massive statistical evidence, the work adds extensively to knowledge of the social realities and dynamics of early modern France and the myriad relationships and tensions within the society the French monarchy attempted to govern and from which it drew its most effective agents. In this way the book elucidates the limitations that French society itself placed upon the so-called absolute monarchy of the period.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH
Brown University

GEORGES DETHAN. *Mazarin et ses amis: Étude sur la jeunesse du Cardinal d'après ses papiers conservés aux Archives du Quai d'Orsay, suivie d'un choix de lettres inédites.* [Paris:] Berger-Levrault. 1968. Pp. 368.

One would have thought it impossible to sketch a sympathetic and yet candid and scholarly portrait of that "Sicilian scoundrel," Cardinal Mazarin, during his early Franco-papal career (1629–43). Yet M. Dethan has done precisely that, utilizing the future *premier ministre*'s massive Italian and French correspondence with his family, Italian patrons and friends, Richelieu's "creatures," and the princely circles of Henriette Marie, Chrétienne of Savoy, and Anne of Austria. Mazarin emerges as a much more likable and complex person than the traditional, unscrupulously ambitious Roman courtier. Along with other traits the reader can discover for himself, I am impressed by the papal agent's astonishing variety of friends, his persistent shielding of acquaintances cast under the shadow of Richelieu's wrath and the disfavor of the Barberini-dominated papal court of Urban VIII, and his sincere support of these political unfortunates even after he attained power in France. Still, it must be remembered that we are looking at a man through his relationship with friends. (How different Mazarin looked to his enemies!) Even from this intimate perspective, Mazarin's knack of getting the most from personal contacts without letting friendships hinder his political career, and the ease with which he shifted from being a Christian and papal advocate of international peace to his better-known stance as the defender of French *raison d'état* raise awkward questions. Often Dethan's Mazarin looks indistinguishable from the typical, ubiquitous court politician and *favori* of early seventeenth-century Europe. We are brought somewhat closer to Mazarin the individual in the useful appendix, which contains excerpts of thirty-seven of Mazarin's letters (including thirty-six Italian extracts translated into French). But the real test of the historical craftsmanship that has already fashioned Gaston d'Orléans into a plausible human being will come with Dethan's forthcoming volume on Mazarin and his friends during the years of power, 1643–61.

A. LLOYD MOOTE
University of Southern California

PIERRE GOUBERT. *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen.* Translated from the French by ANNE CARTER. New York: Pantheon Books. 1970. Pp. 350. $7.95.

This masterful work of *haute vulgarisation* should serve a generation of student and general readers as the essential introduction to the France of Louis XIV. It is the first broadly conceived book on the period to incorporate the ideas and the spirit of the so-called "Annales" school and to achieve a successful balance between royal politics, diplomacy and war, and the "half-consciously accepted fabric of daily life" that Pierre Goubert understands better than any other historian of the *ancien régime*. Into the history of an epoch that has been interpreted largely in terms of the dynamics of royal policy and ambition, Goubert has inserted those unconscious forces in the economy and society—such as prices and demo-

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graphic trends—that the king and his ministers never comprehended, but that, nevertheless, shaped the contours of the seventeenth century. Moreover, Louis XIV's impact upon his time is put in the perspective of the total society. Without denying the king his achievements, particularly in the realm of administration, Goubert presents a collectivity, the French peasantry, as the essential hero of the century. In this "great but still almost medieval kingdom," it was the stubborn struggle of the peasants with the soil that produced the wealth that, in turn, supported the king's quest for grandeur, his aggressions against the rest of Europe, and the society and culture of the elite.

In a book by Pierre Goubert one expects to read about death, fecundity, prices, and rural social structure, but *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen* is important also for its revisionist thrust in the more conventional areas of seventeenth-century history. It is essentially a deflationary enterprise that the author undertakes. Colbert, for example, is treated as the efficient and competent clerk that he undoubtedly was and not as the embodiment of a bourgeois vision of France. The notion that a maleficient Louvois was somehow responsible for Louis's aggressions is rejected. On a more general level Goubert reduces such hoary phrases as "the classical age" and "the age of Louis XIV" to their proper proportions. The *grand siècle*, for example, was "a brilliant fireworks display" lasting about fifteen years—a relatively brief period in a long reign in which royal patronage and high culture were intimately linked. Versailles was not so much the symbol of the monarchy in its prime as the center of a middle-aged, conventional, and intellectually moribund monarchy that took its tone from Maintenon. In short, Goubert's fruitful and commonsensical general work clears the ground of old myths and banalities that have influenced historical writing about Louis XIV's France since the duke of Saint-Simon and Voltaire. It also suggests a new "age of Louis XIV" that takes into account the inarticulate, inert, and unconscious elements that were an important part of the reality of seventeenth-century France.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD
Yale University

JEAN EGRET. *Louis XV et l'opposition parlementaire, 1715–1774*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 246.

Students of the Enlightenment have tended to dismiss the prerevolutionary French parlements as an essentially backward corporation whose occasional verbal radicalism shielded basically reactionary interests. Professor Egret's book sets rather formidable obstacles in the way of our continued easy acceptance of this judgment.

Egret traces the evolution of attitude in the parlements from the reticent registration of the bull *Unigenitus* in 1714 to the fierce confrontations of the 1750s and beyond. Throughout the period, the uncertainty of their constitutional position (Were they mere recorders of new law or co-active in its formulation?) made the *parlementaires* impotent in any conflict with the Crown unless supported by an aroused public opinion. Egret convincingly establishes the extent to which the members of the parlements, enjoying public support, articulated genuine, popular grievances and frequently obliged that prickly authoritarian, Louis XV, to back down or compromise. The vocal elite among the *parlementaires* were sincere disciples of Montesquieu, anxious to transform their institutions into a responsible middle power between Crown and people, ready to denounce the petty tyranny of central government officials, and prepared to fight for much-needed reforms.

While putting his case persuasively, Egret glosses over the very real evidence of the reactionary role often assumed by *parlementaires*, as, for instance, during the campaign begun in the late 1730s to compel all non-Catholics to accept the Catholic sacrament of marriage or face the disinheritance of their children as illegitimate. And, although he is prepared to acknowledge the occasionally narrow class interest of the *parlementaires*, Egret makes only passing reference to the considerable modern scholarship concerning the collusion of robe with sword in the "aristocratic reaction" of the age. But, in so far as they are to be judged in terms of the political battles of Louis XV's reign, the members of France's parlements may now be more generously viewed as having done valiant battle to

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halt the process of rigidification begun after the regent's death.

GEOFFREY ADAMS
Loyola College

JACQUES GODECHOT. *The Taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789*. Translated by JEAN STEWART. Preface by CHARLES TILLY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. xxxii, 368. $9.95.

Professor Jacques Godechot argues that the storming of the Bastille was not a unique and unprecedented event; he places it within the broader context of the late eighteenth-century Atlantic revolutions. He maintains that European history is marked by recurring periods of social unrest. The sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century was a time of great disorder. Severe economic dislocations and religious ferment produced wars and rebellions throughout Europe. This period of 135 years was followed by over a century of relative social peace, but insurrectionary activity resumed at the close of the eighteenth century. Rapid population growth, inflation, and declining real wages led to widespread anxiety. By 1770 demographic expansion had outstripped the ability of agricultural production to keep pace with increased demand. Bad harvests made it ever more difficult to feed the populace. Moreover, increasing food costs obliged consumers to spend more on food and less on manufactured products, a situation that created increased unemployment while food prices continued to climb. The economic and demographic crisis created mass anxiety and discontent as people blamed their governments for the worsening conditions. The widely propagated ideas of the Enlightenment further stimulated growing demands for change. There followed a series of popular revolts in Britain's American colonies, in rural France, in London, Geneva, and Holland. Strangely, Godechot has chosen to ignore the peasant unrest in Eastern Europe and the revolution in Belgium. With the exception of the American rebellion, these insurrections were either limited in scope or failed because of foreign intervention.

Godechot then demonstrates why revolution succeeded in France. He provides an analysis of the French social structure, emphasizing the inequalities and tensions. He also describes Paris, its people and the methods of policing the city. He then discusses the development of a revolutionary mentality arising from the aristocratic rebellion, the royal capitulation, and the summoning of the Estates-General, and goes on to explain the growing economic plight of the masses, which was due to the unfortunate combination of an economic recession and spiraling food costs resulting from the poor harvest of 1788 and the popular expectation of sweeping reforms. These events in turn led to the revolt of the Third Estate, to the court's plan for a counterrevolution, and finally to the Parisian rising designed to check the court's blow against the National Assembly. Finally, Godechot offers a detailed study of the assault on the Bastille, the symbolic act marking the defeat of the Old Regime. The author also supplies an extensive bibliography dealing with both the Atlantic and French revolutions.

Godechot has placed the momentous events of 1789 within the eighteenth-century revolutionary milieu, thus emphasizing the outstanding importance of the first successful popular revolution in Europe.

STEVEN T. ROSS
University of Texas

KYUNG-WON KIM. *Revolution and International System*. New York: New York University Press. 1970. Pp. xxi, 145. $6.95.

This work by a political scientist is an attempt to study history in order to develop a theory of international relations. More specifically, Professor Kim examines how the French Revolution led to the breakdown of the international system of the *ancien régime*. From this study he arrives at a number of hypotheses to explain the process of international destabilization. He expresses the hope that further comparative studies of other historical events and periods will validate his findings.

Despite the author's insistence that the book is not primarily a historical monograph, historians are obliged to examine the validity of the author's historical treatment on the basis of their own knowledge and method. From this point of view, even though Kim has read widely in original and secondary sources, the

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story of the interaction of conservative Europe and revolutionary France is not new. Correct in its broad outlines, it contains a number of inaccuracies. It is, for example, incorrect to assert that the monarchs of the old regime could neither tax nobles nor conscript commoners for military service, to refer to "the dictatorship" of Robespierre, or to state that after Fructidor the Directory was definitely under Napoleon's control. Occasional carelessness and many typographical errors also mar the book.

Kim's special concern with "international system," however, brings into sharper focus certain historical developments. In analyzing the origins of the war in 1792 and its progress, he notes, for example, the gap between reality and the perception of reality both by the leaders of revolutionary France and of conservative Europe. The limited perspective of the governments of the latter, acting within the framework of traditional international relations and concerned only with the balance of power, allowed the Revolution to survive. The war, by revolutionizing the Revolution, unleashed total war. The consequent unprecedented dynamism of France culminated in Napoleon's completion of the process of destroying the classical balance of power system.

Kim's hypotheses explaining international destabilization include the role of ideological heterogeneity (with the resultant probable increase of distortion in perception), the strength of the feedback effect of the revolutionary power's international action on its domestic political system, and the degree of "system" orientation in the traditional international system. The experience of the French revolutionary era leads Kim to conclude tentatively that, in the last analysis, the stability of an international system depends upon the ability of conservative regimes to transcend the constraints of that system. This interdisciplinary work should interest historians as well as political scientists.

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JAMES KEMBLE. *St. Helena during Napoleon's Exile: Gorrequer's Diary*. With introduction, biographies, notes and explanations, and index of pseudonyms. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1969. Pp. ix, 297. $9.50.

Major Gideon Gorrequer was aide-de-camp and acting military secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of St. Helena during Napoleon's exile. He lived with the Lowes at Plantation House, ate at their table, and by day read and copied dispatches and ran errands. At night he retired to his room and vented his grievances in a diary. By tremendous effort James Kemble has deciphered the manuscript of the diary, identified persons concealed by pseudonyms, and annotated the allusions. The editing is excellent. Only the content of the diary itself is a disappointment. Gorrequer at the British headquarters lived at one of the two centers of action on the island, the other being Longwood, Napoleon's residence. The major knew nearly everything that was going on within the British sphere, yet the diary is filled mostly with the petty and prolonged altercations among Sir Hudson Lowe, his wife, his aide-de-camp, the Allied commissioners, the captains of the British East India Company, and, occasionally, the French. To be sure, Wellington's judgment of Lowe, as stupid, unused to the world of large events and good manners, suspicious, jealous, and not up to the position of being Napoleon's keeper, is again thoroughly confirmed. Also, we learn that Gorrequer, who publicly supported Lowe, was in private rather understanding of Napoleon's plight and psychological condition and critical of Lowe's harassing procedures. But otherwise we glean little. We turn the pages of the diary in high expectation that something new and important about Napoleon will be on the next page, but nothing new and important ever appears.

HAROLD T. PARKER
Duke University

JEAN-MARIE MAYEUR. *Un prêtre démocrate: L'Abbé Lemire, 1853–1928*. ("Religion et sociétés.") [Paris:] Casterman. 1968. Pp. 698. 45 fr.
ÉMILE POULAT. *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral. Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La "Sapinière" (1909–1921)*. ("Religion et sociétés.") [Paris:] Casterman. 1969. Pp. 626. 45 fr.

The Abbé Jules Lemire (1853–1928), elected

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deputy from Hazebrouck in 1893, successfully retained his seat through eight legislatures, an achievement matched by only one other neophyte of that year. Lemire authored no outstanding legislation, founded no party. The priest-deputy's career, however, serves as a remarkable guide to the evolution and interaction of the political and religious history of the Third Republic and to the social and ideological conflicts inextricably present in the Republic's history. Lemire's earliest convictions reflected the piety, royalism, and ultra-Montanism of his vocation and agrarian environment. But his own open spirit made possible his development as a convinced republican; fervent Christian Democrat; defender of the legitimacy and merits of the laic state; and ardent advocate of the compatibility of religion, modernity, and French society.

Jean-Marie Mayeur's study is a model of political, social, and religious historical research perfectly fitted to the format of biography. His analysis alone of the political and socio-economic evolution of Hazebrouck and the department of the Nord is worthy of the best regional electoral studies in the *Annales* tradition. His biography lucidly follows the complicated lines of the Christian Democratic movement and illuminates with brilliant clarity the conflicts within the Catholic community that were provoked and sustained by those adamantly hostile to progressive thought and action. Material of the first importance documents the efforts of some of the hierarchy, and in particular those of Monsignor Alexis Charost, bishop of Lille, to crush and humiliate Lemire. The ill-will and pursuit of vengeance that characterized the Conservatives never flagged; their brutal tactics graphically reveal the social and institutional infrastructure of reactionary Catholicism in France.

Mayeur's book is indispensable to any student of the Third Republic. The fifty-page bibliography is a serious contribution to the literature of the period; historians will long be dependent on the highly instructive biographical and explanatory footnotes. The regional, national, ecclesiastical, public, and private archives are exploited in a fashion that can only arouse the envy of historians who would seek to imitate Mayeur's gifts at finding significant *inédites.*

The historian cannot yet state whether anti-revolutionary Catholic action has been defeated in France or in Europe. It is Émile Poulat's view that the hard-core antimodernist conspirators were and are infinite in their guile and skilled capacity to strike clandestinely at their fellow religionists. Poulat has now established the authoritative documentation on the infamous secret society, *La "Sapinière,"* the *Sodalitum Pianum* organized by Monsignor Umberto Benigni (1862–1934). In 1906 Benigni was appointed undersecretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, a post that in 1908 placed him in the fifth highest office in the papal secretariat of state. From this post he wove together in 1909 a secret international organization designed to hunt out, defame, and destroy liberals, modernists, and democrats within the Church. The members of this limited society were supplied with a code book of the damned, a public journal *La Correspondance de Rome,* and frequent covert newsletters.

The documents published by Poulat after exhaustive research in France, Belgium, Holland, Rome, Germany, and Poland indicate that the society was as formidable in its friends and allies as it was hysterical in its search for heretics and revolutionaries. Pius x thrice blessed its work, though he may not have been fully aware of its full conspiratorial talents; Poulat is, however, very severe in his judgment of the complicity of Pius x with the spirit of *La "Sapinière"* and of his unrestrained sympathy for Monsignor Benigni. The Vatican in 1921 thought it "inopportune" for the society to continue, but those admired by *La "Sapinière,"* such as Monsignor Charost, who suspended the priestly faculties of Lemire, continued to affirm its goals. Benigni ended his days as an honored ecclesiastic while acting, according to Poulat, as *"un pourvoyeur important de l'antisémitisme italien,"* and in close rapport with the Fascist regime.

Poulat's *notes introductives, notes justificatives,* and *notes explicatives* for every document are of fundamental importance for the religious and political history of the Roman Catholic world from the eve of World War I

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to the rise of fascism. No thinker, no political figure, no churchman of his time can be discussed henceforth unless he has been first checked out in Poulat's dossier to determine his relationship as friend or foe of *La "Sapinière."* Secret history is often *petite historie,* but the documents in this work suggest darker currents that involve the wider history of the past, present, and future of the Church and modern society. Poulat, a sociologist, has fulfilled the dream of every historian—to bring things covered by secrecy, myth, and fiction into the sharp light of factual, objective history.

EDWARD T. GARGAN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROGER GLENN BROWN. *Fashoda Reconsidered: The Impact of Domestic Politics on French Policy in Africa, 1893–1898.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 88th Series [1970], Number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp xi, 157. $7.50.

Roger Glenn Brown has put together an intriguing little study that intelligently adds another qualification to the sweeping generalizations frequently made about European imperialism. Concentrating on the domestic aspects of the Fashoda crisis, he demonstrates the role corridor politics and public opinion played in the realization of this disastrous aspect of French colonial activity, and in so doing he reminds us once again of the symbiotic relationship maintained between the advocates on the homefront and the practitioners in the field.

The study offers two separate but interrelated aspects of the Fashoda crisis: first, the origins of the expedition inspired by the small coterie of colonial enthusiasts connected with the Comité de l'Afrique française; and, second, the intensification and complication of the Fashoda incident as a result of the Dreyfus case, with its dire domestic and international repercussions.

The first aspect is the better treated and documented; it will no doubt be the more interesting to students of French colonial affairs. To some scholars the role of that rather amorphous group, the *parti colonial,* has been as fascinating as elusive. Where Henri Brunschwig was suggestive and sketchy in his treatment of the activities of this group in his *Mythes et realités de l'imperialisme colonial français* (1960), Brown has been closely attentive to now available documents in his assessment of the decisive action taken by the group first in fostering and then in foisting on the government the Fashoda project. This latter endeavor was facilitated by ministerial ignorance and competition and by governmental turnover, but it was equally facilitated by the strong support of Delcassé as undersecretary of state for colonies and by the enthusiasm of well-placed and ambitious colonial officers.

The second aspect of the study is a judicious attempt to relate the Dreyfus case to the Fashoda crisis. Questions raised by previous historians about the influence of Fashoda are well answered, and, above all, the complicated role of Delcassé in the crucial months of late 1898 is described and explained with clarity.

If the style of this very short study is spare, the documentation is ample and the analysis of it careful and rigorous. Brown proves what we all have known and perhaps have at times ignored: the history of modern imperialism still needs to be written from the inside out, not the other way around.

RAYMOND F. BETTS
Grinnell College

ANTONIO MESTRE. *Ilustración y reforma de la Iglesia: Pensamiento político-religioso de Don Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781).* (Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Oliva, Number 1.) Valencia: [the Ayuntamiento and Anales del Seminario de Valencia.] 1968. Pp. 509.

The Spanish historian Mayáns y Siscar is less well known than he deserves. After studying at the Universities of Valencia and Salamanca, he became royal librarian in the 1730s. When his desire to eliminate fables from early Spanish history clashed with the leaders of the new Academy of History (he was one of the first to doubt the coming of Santiago to Spain), he retired to his native Oliva and remained there the rest of his life, becoming a leader of the eighteenth-century intellectual flowering of the kingdom of Valencia.

Antonio Mestre's biography of Mayáns is based on exhaustive use of his extensive manu-

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scripts and correspondence. Although Mestre's topical organization leads to repetition of his conclusions and at times makes Mayáns' career hard to follow, this is an impressive work, a good example of the achievements of a rising generation of Spanish historians. It bears out Mestre's contention that historians have not paid sufficient attention to the role of Valencia in introducing the Enlightenment to Spain.

Mestre presents Mayáns as a typical representative of the Spanish Enlightenment, but the lesson I see in the book is how different his outlook and career were from those of writers who flourished later under Charles III. Although not a clergyman, Mayáns was primarily interested in religious questions. He gave little thought to political philosophy, economics, or science, and he disliked Montesquieu and Voltaire. He was attracted to sixteenth-century Spanish philosophers like Vives and Arias Montano and recent foreign opponents of Rome: Bossuet, Fleury, Van Espen, and Muratori. He was an eighteenth-century Jansenist rather than a philosophe. He also felt more threatened than the writers under Charles III. Because his views on history and clerical reform angered leading religious authorities, in 1743 the Council of Castile confiscated all his papers, and in 1747 the Inquisition withdrew his permission to read prohibited books. After these blows he virtually limited himself to expressing his ideas in private correspondence. As he realized, abuses could be attacked with impunity only when a king should appear who sincerely desired reform.

RICHARD HERR
University of California, Berkeley

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Spanish Revolution.* (Revolutions in the Modern World.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xvi, 398. $7.95.

Stanley Payne has contributed still another important book—his third in less than a decade—to twentieth-century Spanish historiography. Although not nearly so ambitious as his recent *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* (1967), this new work is extensive in scope nevertheless. Its 375 pages of text are almost equally divided between a survey of the Spanish working-class Left from the late nineteenth century to the Popular Front elections of February 1936 and an analysis of the immediate origins and course of the Spanish Civil War.

The first half of the book is the least original since it relies chiefly on secondary sources and borrows much of its theoretical framework from the ideas of Juan Linz. Its most signal service lies in its unravelment of the complicated social and political history of Catalonia, particularly the role of the anarcho-syndicalists during the *pistolero* era of 1917–23 and that of the *rabassaire* controversy during the Republic. The second half of the book is more the product of primary research, especially in newspapers and the Bolloten Collection of the Hoover Institution. As in his previous works, Professor Payne makes excellent use of memoirs. He also remains one of the few American historians of Spain who systematically employs Catalan sources. Finally, he performs something of a tour de force by drawing upon Russian-language materials.

The contributions of this second half of the book are legion. Payne lends new perspective to the importance of Communist policy in the immediate prewar period. He uses the latest Spanish scholarship to prove that army support of the military insurrection of July 18, 1936, was not nearly so unanimous as once supposed. He uncovers much new data on the social and economic revolution of late July and August, though his estimate that the peasantry seized about one-third of the arable land in the Republican zone seems far too low. Because of his previously proven ability to follow complex political maneuvering, he adds many details to our knowledge of the conflicts among anarchists, socialists, communists, and POUMists. His chapter on the "Republican People's Army" is by far the best available. He completes his work with a truly outstanding bibliographical essay that will be of great help to future scholars, though in this particular case he is partly compensating for his failure (presumably due to the format mistakenly prescribed by his publisher) to document many of his sources in the main body of the text.

Along with these many merits, the book has one central flaw: its active lack of sympathy—indeed, its near hostility—toward almost every manifestation of the radicalism and revolution

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that were the very essence of the Spanish Left. This bias expresses itself in many ways. One can easily understand why Payne damns Azaña for his romantic radicalism; yet also to call him a "bureaucrat" (pp. 85, 90) and to imply that in the crisis of 1936 he was more of an officer-seeker than a principled individual facing an extraordinary dilemma (pp. 179, 190) seem to be contradictory and gratuitous criticisms. Besteiro, the moderate Socialist, is justly lauded for his antirevolutionary pleas, but the sterility and political irrelevance of the policies he recommended are not noted. Nor does Payne address himself directly to Noam Chomsky's recent effort to justify anarchosyndicalist tactics during the war; the evidence he presents implicitly undermines Chomsky's arguments, which I also think to be erroneous, but these are so forcefully presented and important as to deserve more explicit treatment.

Middle-class radicalism indeed failed in the prewar era, though partly because it was not radical enough. The revolutionary policies of the working-class movements from 1933 onward also undeniably led to disaster. Payne's greatest service probably lies precisely in reminding us of this and thus in helping us overcome the generally leftist bias of most histories of modern Spain. Yet by exaggerating the achievements of the constitutional monarchy, by failing to appreciate fully the misery in which most of Spain's population lived, by concentrating too much on the day-to-day maneuvering of political factions and not enough on their critiques of society, Payne is left with an excessively narrow basis for understanding why large numbers of decent men were driven to actions that ultimately proved to be catastrophic. He therefore runs the risk of introducing a new bias that would be as misleading as the one his otherwise excellent book seeks to destroy.

EDWARD E. MALEFAKIS
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GOTTFRIED LORENZ. *Das Erzstift Bremen und der Administrator Friedrich während des Westfälischen Friedenskongresses: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des schwedisch-dänischen Machtkampfes im 17. Jahrhundert.* (Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte E.V., Number 4.) Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1969. Pp. xxii, 264. DM 44.

This book is a must for scholars interested in the diplomacy through which small German principalities sought to survive during the Thirty Years' War. Scholars interested in mid-seventeenth-century Danish-Swedish relations should look at it. All others can forget it. The author has very successfully limited his subject. We are mainly given a chronicle of the sterile diplomatic effort by which Frederick, son of Christian IV of Denmark, sought to retain the Archdiocese of Bremen, which he had obtained earlier in the war. The decisions were made on the battlefields, however, and Swedish success against Denmark made Frederick's diplomacy about as academic as Lorenz' dissertation.

The author makes a contribution of some value in the footnotes and appendixes, which together with his text provide explication of some of the complicated relationships that snarled statecraft in seventeenth-century Germany. He reached for greater significance by trying, as his subtitle indicates, to tie the Bremen story into the broader Danish-Swedish power struggle of that time. Unfortunately he does not do this very successfully. Although he uses some Swedish sources to supplement what he has from Copenhagen and Lower Saxony, he never makes Sweden's interest come alive in its true complexity. Limiting himself to diplomacy he takes only passing note of military considerations and none at all of economic ones. This leaves the discussion of diplomacy without depth. Since he also avoids the canebrakes of Swedish-Imperial and Swedish-French relations, the diplomacy surrounding Bremen is not very broad either. A considerable talent for research has been confined to too narrow a compass.

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK
California Institute of Technology

WALTHER HUBATSCH. *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens.* Volume 1; Volume 2, *Bilder ostpreussischer Kirchen*, edited by ISELIN GUNDERMANN; Volume 3, *Dokumente.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968. Pp. ix, 598; xxiv, 166, 715 plates; vii, 588. DM 39 each.

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HARTMUT LEHMANN. *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg: vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1969. Pp. 406. DM 58.

Though both Professor Hubatsch of Bonn and Professor Lehmann of Kiel deal with German Protestantism, the contrast between them is striking and typical of the generation gap among German historians. Hubatsch has lived through the hopeless disasters of Germany in the first half of this century and is indebted to the conservative tradition of German Lutheranism. His book expresses warm feeling for the church in which he was raised. Lehmann received his formative influences during the 1950s and 1960s, the time of growing prosperity in West Germany. He shares the decidedly liberal orientation that is characteristic of today's German intellectuals. His approach is that of the cool, disinterested political historian.

Hubatsch traces the history of the evangelical, that is Lutheran, state church in the former duchy of Prussia and later province of East Prussia from the Reformation in 1525 until the flight and expulsion of the population in 1945. His work consists of three parts: volume 1 contains Hubatsch's text with an extensive bibliography, volume 2 is devoted to church architecture with a large collection of views of churches, volume 3 offers a fine selection of documents and lists of parishes. Although Hubasch's approach is traditional and at times less critical and more concerned with detail than might be warranted, his book surprises by its richness. Hubatsch pays very close attention to the structural changes within the church that reflected the constitutional changes in the state of Prussia. The various theological tendencies that centered in the university and city of Königsberg are discussed. Hubatsch's book also offers a colorful social history of Protestantism in East Prussia, dealing with the formation and disappearance of parishes, the training, social position, and life of the pastors, and the various forms of parish life. Very interesting sections are devoted to the non-German-speaking minorities, the Lithuanians and Masurians. More than other churches, the Lutheran church of Prussia faced smaller rivals from the beginning: spiritualists, Mennonites, Bohemian Brethren, Unitarians, and from the seventeenth century onward, Calvinists of German, French, and English-Scottish origin, who enjoyed the special favor of the Calvinist Hohenzollern dynasty. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Prussia was a very fertile ground for a host of sectarian groups. More important, however, were the new forms of religious life that Pietism introduced into the Lutheran church. The work of numerous church-related groups, which tried to deal with the many social problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is closely described. Hubatsch also discusses the development of religious literature, the cultivation of church music, and the development of church architecture. Though the Third Reich was never able to subject the core of the Lutheran church of East Prussia, Hubatsch notes that state and party had their hold on the minds of the mass of people until finally the catastrophe of 1945 swept away the church with its people. Due to its rich diversity, Hubatsch's book will be indispensable to the student of German Protestantism.

Professor Lehmann's book is concerned with the social and political beliefs and attitudes of the Pietists. By limiting his study to Württemberg with its rich Pietist tradition, he has been able to discuss the views of the various leaders in great detail. By carrying the story from the late seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century, he has been able to describe with great skill the changes and the continuity of this strange religious sect that in general remained within the Lutheran church. Lehmann's book is far more than a study of religious and political beliefs. It also discusses the reaction of the Pietist leaders to concrete political events such as the revolution of 1848 and the social causes that conditioned their attitudes.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Pietist leaders exhibited an extraordinary intellectual creativity but they never envisaged political, let alone revolutionary, action to change society. Instead they concentrated on leading pious lives that would allow them to be gathered by the Lord whose return the eminent Pietist theologian Bengel predicted for 1836. Only in the nineteenth century did most Pietists modify this inward-looking atti-

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tude. Shaken by the new revolutionary and atheistic forces, they engaged in a wide variety of religious and charitable works, such as publishing ventures, Bible societies, pedagogic institutions, and social work. At the same time, however, they adopted a very conservative political position. They also strongly welcomed the unification of Germany by Prussia although they were disappointed when it did not lead to a moral and religious revival of the nation. According to Lehmann, these conservative and nationalistic trends proved to be the bane of most Pietists: they allied them with the reactionary bourgeoisie, prevented them from seeing, let alone solving, the social problems of their age, and rendered at least some of them defenseless to the Hitlerite propaganda.

It is not easy to read this very detailed book, but Lehmann admirably portrays the political world of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Pietists that appears so misguided to him. It is another question whether the vitality of the Pietist movement should be judged on the basis of their political philosophy. Religious movements might require other criteria. There might have been much spiritual strength in the Pietist circles in spite of their unfortunate political views.

Lehmann's book is based on such an amazing amount of archival and published material and it is so penetrating in its analysis that it will undoubtedly become one of the standard works on Pietism in Württemberg. The social historian, however, might wish that the numerical strength and social structure of the Pietists had been more thoroughly investigated. Lehmann might also have told us more of the actual daily life of the Pietists and the new communities that they founded in Württemberg and abroad. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise first-rate piece of scholarship.

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN
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HEINRICH VOLKMANN. *Die Arbeiterfrage im preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1848–1869.* (Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Number 13.) Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1968. Pp. 218. DM 39.60.

The dramatic shift in the historiography of the *Reichsgründung* period in German history precipitated within the past few years by the publication of impressive monographs by Helmut Böhme, Hans Rosenberg, and Theodore Hamerow has engendered a renewed interest in the socioeconomic milieu of the period. By reason of its systematic analysis of a very compact and significant theme and its author's assiduous research, this workmanlike monograph is an important contribution to this shift. The significance of Volkmann's monograph lies in its detailed analysis of the role played by political parties and the ministry in the passage of social reforms benefiting factory workers in Prussia and the North German Confederation from the time parliamentary institutions emerged in Prussia until the passage of the North German Confederation's industrial ordinance in 1869. Although Volkmann offers no major historical revisions, he presents the most balanced and carefully documented analysis of the ideological and political motivations behind industrial reform and of the changing role of party politics in the development of *Sozialpolitik* in mid-nineteenth-century Prussia.

The plan of the book is straightforward. After a perceptive introduction and first chapter in which he discusses the ideological image of the *Arbeiterfrage* during the *Vormärz* and revolutionary periods, Volkmann turns to Prussian industrial reforms during the reactionary period of the Manteuffel ministry, the New Era, the period of the army-constitutional conflict, and in the North German Confederation until 1869. Volkmann focuses on the proceedings of the *Abgeordnetenhaus* and the Reichstag, upon the government's bills and the proposals and arguments of a relatively small number of deputies committed to *Sozialpolitik*, especially Harkort, Schulze-Delitzsch, and Wagener. Although the ideological and political considerations behind specific working-class reforms, especially those promoted by the minister of commerce, August von der Heydt, are critically scrutinized, more could have been done to relate these developments to the socioeconomic matrix of the *Arbeiterfrage*.

JOHN S. WOZNIAK
State University College, Fredonia

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ELIAHU BEN ELISSAR. *La diplomatie du III^e Reich et les Juifs (1933–1939).* [Paris:] Julliard. 1969. Pp. 521.

Hitler's domestic, racial policies were somewhat sensitive to pressures from abroad. One hiatus in the racial campaign lasted almost two years. Joseph Goebbels had earlier convinced Hitler that prestige could be gained from the Berlin Olympics of 1936. When disgust with the Nazis produced threatened withdrawals of French, British, and, especially, American athletic teams, the Nazis eased up on the Jews. But the period of relative calm ended in mid-1938 with nearly simultaneous outbreaks of swashbuckling diplomacy and anti-Semitic outrages.

The Jews were victims of appeasement, a process Ben Elissar dates from April 1933 with the reluctance of the British and the Americans to boycott German goods. The outlines of the "final solution" were obscure until early 1940 when the racial fanatics were isolated from foreign opinion.

The author uses vast quantities of archival materials to document the origin and demise of schemes to save lives: plans to shift millions of desperate persons to Palestine, Angola, Madagascar, or Shanghai. All failed due to a lack of funds and of vigor on the part of the Reich's enemies. Ben Elissar agrees with Raul Hilberg that the Nazis' decision to slaughter was an administrative one. There was no place to put those despised, living bodies. We also learn some strange things. Julius Streicher, for example, caused a minor diplomatic ruckus when he accused Pius XI of being half Jewish.

There are some awful ironies in the author's thematic presentation. Ben Elissar, himself a tough Israeli patriot, depicts Hitler's enemies as torpid, tight-fisted, hypocritical anti-Semites. Only Hitler acted with boldness and ideological consistency. The author of the book, like the author of the holocaust, believes that the assimilation was an error and that the Jews should have been taken away from the Gentiles. It was the decadence of the Nazis' opponents abroad that let the lives of millions of potential Israelis slip away.

RICHARD D. MANDELL
University of South Carolina

ANTHONY N. GROBOVSKY. *The "Chosen Council" of Ivan IV: A Reinterpretation.* Brooklyn: Theo. Gaus' Sons. 1969. Pp. vii, 171. $7.00.

Grobovsky's short monograph argues that the traditions of interpretation of the dynamics of political rivalry in the 1550s under Tsar Ivan IV of Moscow rest on an accumulation of often unfounded assumptions that have obscured our understanding of this crucial period in the development of the Great Russian state. The term "chosen council" (*Izbrannaia rada*) originated in Prince A. M. Kurbskii's probably contemporaneous history of Ivan's reign, *Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom.* Grobovsky contends that Kurbskii's *rada* was a figurative expression describing as a league of righteous servitors those whom Ivan had persecuted. After an excellent historiographical review, Grobovsky shows that historical arguments that have transformed the *rada* into an institution or reform party with definite membership, policies, and dates of origin and collapse, cannot be substantiated in the sources. He concentrates his analysis on the "first thorough attempt" (p. 39) to establish the membership of the *rada:* S. V. Bakhrushin's "'Izbrannaia rada' Ivana Groznogo," in Volume 2 of *Nauchnye trudy* (Moscow, 1964), and on variations of it in recent works by S. B. Veselovskii, I. I. Smirnov, A. A. Zimin, S. O. Shmidt, and others. Except for the unfortunate omission of R. G. Skrynnikov's *Nachalo Oprichniny* (Leningrad, 1966), Grobovsky's research is as thorough as it is accurate. His argument, like the subject, is complex; but, despite a ponderous style, it is clear and convincing. Although the subject is narrow and of interest mainly to specialists, Grobovsky's ideas are important and, in view of current attempts to re-evaluate Ivan's reign, most timely.

DAVID B. MILLER
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SERGEI A. ZEN'KOVSKII. *Russkoe Staroobriadchestvo: Dukhovnye Dvizheniia Semnadtsatogo Veka* [Russia's Old Believers: Spiritual Movements of the Seventeenth Century]. (Forum Slavicum, Number 21.) Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag. 1970. Pp. 528. DM 96.

ROBERT O. CRUMMEY. *The Old Believers & the World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community & the*

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Russian State, 1694–1855. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 258. $10.00.

After a short summary in English, Zen'kovskii provides an extensive treatment of the Russian Old Believers in Russian to preserve the flavor of the original sources. The movement originated in the 1630s with the so-called *Bogoliubtsy* (Seekers of God), who desired liturgical and moral revivals, particularly among the clergy. The leaders were Archpriests Stephen Vonifatiev, the tsar's confessor, Ivan Neronov, and Avvakum. They endeavored to make Russian Orthodoxy dominant throughout the East in accordance with the slogan, "Moscow the Third Rome." When Metropolitan Nikon became patriarch in 1652, he favored the aims of the *Bogoliubtsy*. Soon, however, he adopted a program of making the patriarchal office equal or even superior to that of the tsar. While Alexis Mikhailovich was young, this strong-willed patriarch had his way. In order to secure hegemony among the other Orthodox patriarchates, Nikon thought it necessary to revise the Russian liturgical texts and traditional church practices in conformity with the current Greek usages. He did not know that the Russian texts and ritual were actually closer to early Byzantine forms than the contemporary Greek texts. These reforms caused disagreement and finally a rupture between the reforming party and the patriarch. Nikon, however, met opposition with severe, even cruel, reprisals; he removed recalcitrant bishops and archpriests from their sees and positions by methods that were often openly unjust and autocratic.

In the meantime, Tsar Alexis returned from the long, drawnout wars with Poland and Sweden, having greatly matured in his views of the tsarist prerogatives. During his absence Nikon had acted as the regent of the country, and had actually assumed the tsar's own title of "*veliky gosudar.*" Alexis now would not stand for Nikon's autocratic ways. Thereupon the patriarch divested himself of the patriarchal functions and retired to a monastery. The church was bereft of its supreme hierarch, yet no one knew whether Nikon could be deposed and a new patriarch elected.

Under these conditions Alexis accepted the plan of calling a council consisting of two Greek patriarchs, many bishops, and the Russian hierarchs. The council met in Moscow in 1666–67, and, as could be expected, the Greek contingent approved the changes in the Russian liturgy and rites but deposed Nikon.

This action was, then, the direct cause of the Schism (*Raskol*), which soon reached surprisingly large proportions. In the nineteenth century at least one-quarter, or perhaps even one-third, of the Russian population belonged to various Old Believers' organizations; even so, some one million left Russia.

The state then undertook a savage repression of these recalcitrants. Some escaped to the far north, where the Solovky monastery was their center. Their communities repudiated the official church and state as dominated by the antichrist, refused the Nikonian hierarchy and priesthood, and one group of them lived without priests and sacraments, including even marriage. These *bezpopovtsy* preached extreme asceticism, even self-starvation and immolation, and they adopted apocalyptic teachings. Their original leader, Capiton, was succeeded by Vavila and Avvakum, both of whom were later put to death.

Zen'kovkii's work is the most comprehensive and authoritative modern treatment of this very important phase of the Russian church and national history. The author is so thoroughly conversant with his subject that his work will remain the standard treatment for many decades to come.

Crummey's work covers briefly the events leading up to the Council of 1666–67, which approved the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon. Those who refused to accept the changes broke away from the official church. Since the government of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich ordered the tsar's subjects to accept the reforms unconditionally, the Old Believers (or *Raskolniki,* that is, Schismatics) found themselves in radical opposition to the state as well as to the church. They rejected both as being under the rule of the antichrist. To escape persecution they sought refuge in distant, sparcely settled territories. When confronted by the troops sent against them, they immolated themselves, often in large numbers.

The settlement chosen by the author for a detailed study is the Vyg community near the

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White Sea. This is the first thorough study of this and related groups, based on exhaustive research of all available manuscript and published sources. The Vyg community was organized in 1694, during the reign of Peter I, by Daniel Vikulich, but its most important leaders were his successors, brothers Andrei and Semen Denisov and Peter Prokopiev. Of the three, Andrei was the most energetic organizer and leader. From the beginning, the form of the community was monastic. At first it contained both men and women, but later the women were settled under the Abbess Solomoniia, Denisov's sister, in the nearby Leksa convent, over which the Vyg monastery retained general supervision. The combined membership numbered about one thousand. Since there were no ordained priests in the community (they had been rejected as being ordained in an apostate church), no sacraments could be canonically ministered. Yet a strict devotional regime and monastic discipline were imposed. Private property was forbidden and all earnings were paid into a common treasury from which all expenses were paid. All members were assigned tasks and were strictly supervised. Anyone who refused to submit to the rules was expelled.

The severe persecution suffered during the reign of Regent Sophia was somewhat modified under Tsar Peter I. Nevertheless, he imposed legal restrictions on the dress and the shaving of beards of the dissenters, and exacted double taxes from them. They, in turn, regarded Peter as antichrist. Despite all, the Vyg community prospered, particularly when iron ore was found in the neighborhood and was processed into finished products in the Olonets factories. In return for labor in extracting iron, the Vyg community was granted toleration. In course of time, other industries, such as fishing and extensive agriculture, were engaged in and resulted in guarded and yet steady contacts with the government, although the regime was still regarded as impious.

In the succeeding reigns the situation was not greatly changed because Peter's laws remained in effect. Only when Empress Catherine repealed the obnoxious laws could Vyg prosper in safety.

The reign of Nicholas I, nevertheless, witnessed the final destruction of Vyg. Its chapel reverted to the state church, its buildings fell to ruin, and the old books and icons were confiscated. The last leader died in 1915.

MATTHEW SPINKA
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MICHAEL CONFINO. *Systèmes agraires et progrès agricole: L'assolement triennal en Russie aux XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles. Étude d'économie et de sociologie rurales.* Preface by ROGER PORTAL. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves, Number 14.) The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1969. Pp. 495. 51 gls.

Inspired by the pioneering work of Marc Bloch, Professor Confino has broadened his own previous study of Russian agrarian history to examine the evolution of the three-field system in Russia from about 1760 to 1861. To city-bred historians like myself who have only a nodding acquaintance with rural life and agricultural history, such an enterprise might seem doomed to produce results of little interest. Such is not the case here, however, for Confino has employed an impressive array of approaches and evidence that inject intellectual excitement into his difficult subject. He has carefully assayed previous scholarship—indeed, specialists will welcome his comprehensive, thirty-nine page bibliography—and has skillfully drawn on sources as diverse as the works of the Imperial Free Economic Society, poetry, and folklore. His theses are thoughtfully formulated, subtly argued, and clearly presented. Particularly valuable for the nonspecialist are his remarks upon the interplay of institutional factors—such as serfdom, the system of labor dues (*barshchina*), and the peasant commune—with the psychological attitudes of lords and peasants. Thus he emphasizes that the three-field system was only one element of an exceptionally cohesive social structure that engendered a psychological outlook inimical to change. The routine of the three-field system protected the enserfed peasantry against the oppression of their lords, while it lent stability to a basically marginal rural economy by insuring that the bulk of production was consumed by its producers. It was this network of economic and psychological interdependencies that made the system so difficult to change.

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In refusing to indict the three-field system as the chief villain of Russia's agrarian backwardness, Confino suggests that it was neither so ancient, so widespread, nor so rigid a system as some scholars have thought. He deftly criticizes Soviet interpretations concerning an alleged "crisis of the three-field system," reminding us that agrarian change invariably requires much longer time spans and assumes more varied forms than does industrial progress; hence precise periodization is impossible. Confino's scholarship is impeccable. His latest work is at once a fundamental contribution to the study of modern Russian history and a model demonstration of history enriched by borrowings from other disciplines.

JOHN T. ALEXANDER
University of Kansas

JOHN T. ALEXANDER. *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis: The Imperial Russian Government and Pugachev's Revolt/1773–1775.* (Russian and East European Series, Volume 38.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the International Affairs Center. 1969. Pp. xii, 346. $8.50.

Professor John T. Alexander's recently published book, *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis*, is a welcome addition to historical literature. With a sure touch the author traces in twelve vivid chapters the great social rebellion from its obscure inception to its important aftermath. Moreover, as the title indicates, he interprets his task very broadly. The preface emphasizes such issues as "how Catherine II and her government viewed the Pugachev revolt at its various stages," the interplay of this perception with the foreign and domestic policies of the government, "the government's ideological response," and "the lessons" that it drew from the rebellion (p. x). The actual narrative has at least three principal focuses the rebellion; foreign affairs, especially in regard to Turkey; and court and government intrigues and politics. It is in his dealing with the last set of problems that Professor Alexander shows the grestest originality. The preface and the twelve chapters are followed by a list of abbreviations, by notes relegated quite unfortunately to the back of the volume, by "works consulted," and by an index.

Professor Alexander's study speaks well of its author and even of the training of young American scholars in Russian history. Dedicated to Professor Michael Ginsburg of Indiana University and acknowledging gratefully the guidance and help of other Indiana specialists in the field, it also pays tribute to Professor V. V. Mavrodin and certain other Soviet scholars who aided the author during his year of concentrated research in the USSR. More impressive than explicit acknowledgements is the fact that the book is soundly based both on archival sources and particularly on a very wide reading in the published materials, Soviet, pre-Soviet, and non-Russian. Use is made even of the contemporary press, in Russia and several other countries. Professor Alexander's judgments are sensible, careful, nuanced, and generally convincing. It is notable that the author underplays, if anything, rather than exaggerates the importance of his particular subject for the general evolution of Russia. The book is highly readable and on the whole well produced, although one might object to Françoise as one of Voltaire's given names (p. 346), or, on methodological grounds, to the description of a writer, in this case M. M. Shcherbatov, as "a conservative, unpleasant man, who was nevertheless an able historian" (p. 120).

Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis is a major contribution to Russian history in the English language. That it is not also a major contribution to Russian history *tout court* is really a tribute to the author's predecessors.

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY
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A. WALICKI. *The Controversy over Capitalism: Studies in the Social Philosophy of the Russian Populists.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. 197. $6.25.

Andrzey Walicki, a Polish Marxist, has for years concerned himself with the history of nineteenth-century Russian thought. The essay under review is devoted to "some aspects of the ideology of *classical* Russian populism." The author is only marginally interested in the populist revolutionary movement and at pains to distinguish developmental phases in the history of populist thought. He stresses the diversity of ideas—from Herzen to Vorontsov, from Bakunin to Tolstoy—encompassed within

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populism's ample confines. Walicki is at his best in the treatment of the content, implications, and interrelations of ideas. He points up interesting connections or parallels between certain populist conceptions and those of such important Western social thinkers as Tönnies, Durkheim, and Mannheim.

The book's central thesis reads: "Marxism . . . should be recognized as the main frame of reference for the proper understanding of classical Russian populism; classical populism, in its turn, should be recognized as one of the most important chapters in the history of a broadly conceived reception of Marxism." This view, not entirely unfamiliar to students of the subject, is here stated much more forcefully than usual. Actually, parts of the book traverse well-trodden ground; other sections, though of considerable interest, are not clearly related to the central theme. For the rest, the not inconsiderable and persuasive evidence offered in support of the thesis seems to me to fall short of the claims made.

Nevertheless, this study decidedly merits attention. It is marked by a sensitive appreciation of important insights in the work of Lavrov, Mikhailovskii, Vorontsov, and Danielson—men usually subjected to scathing criticism by Marxist writers. The populists are seen not just as representatives of peasant interests but as men who first came to grips with the acute problems set for backward countries—notably uneven development—in the process of modernization. Good though this book is, it might have been better had the author taken into account the works of Professors Malia, Fischer, Von Laue, and, if I may be immodest, my study of Plekhanov.

SAMUEL H. BARON
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A. M. ANFIMOV. *Krupnoe Pomeshchich'e Khoziaistvo Evropeiskoi Rossii (Konets XIX–Nachalo XX Veka)* [Large-Scale Landlord Economy in European Russia (End of the 19th to the Beginning of the 20th Century)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel 'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 392.

For those who still have doubts, Anfimov's book offers yet one more massive reassurance that Lenin was right. In particular, he was right in 1906 when he said: "Landed estates in Russia are run more on the basis of serf-bondage relationships than on capitalist organization."

For those who want to know how large landed estates actually operated and developed in Russia during the period 1890–1914, Anfimov provides a smattering of relevant information, drawn partly from archives. This information is more wide ranging than organized. Anfimov's purpose is to show what landed estates failed to do, not what they did; thus, his book is not as informative as it is encyclopedic. All this notwithstanding, the agricultural historian will find that it deserves careful reading.

Anfimov's main subject is the economic relationship between landed estates and the peasantry. His main point is that most estates operated by renting their lands out to peasants on a short-term basis in exchange for labor rather than money. Short-term rental insured that no one would use advanced agricultural methods on rented lands. Whether the peasants rented the estate lands or labored upon them in order to pay their rent, in either case they did not generally work as free laborers, but as small farmers who had to do essentially *corvée* work (*barshchina*) for estate owners in order to maintain their own tiny allotments. In effect, then, serfdom survived the emancipation of 1861 and continued right up to 1917 to oppress and impoverish the peasantry while keeping agriculture primitive. Anfimov concludes that the big estates were not leaders in agricultural progress, as so many scholars have said. On the contrary, they were obstacles to progress. This is why Lenin denied that bourgeois agriculture could develop in Russia as it had in the West. Russian landed estates were not capitalistic, said Lenin, and Russian agriculture could not become capitalist as long as big estates continued to impose the old serf relationships on the Russian countryside. Russian agriculture would have to develop around the peasant movement to destroy the estates, not, as in Germany, around the evolution of capitalistic relationships among landed estates and the peasantry.

Anfimov's description of agricultural backwardness on the big estates is convincing; his (and Lenin's) much-repeated assertion that the landed estates imposed this backwardness

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is not. What Anfimov does, in effect, is to describe the conditions under which the estate owners worked and then to blame the estate owners for these very conditions. He never speaks of Russian peasant society and the difficulty of introducing modern agricultural methods to peasants, though he seems to be aware of A. V. Chaianov's works. He refers to Engelgardt's condemnation of estate owners but ignores Engelgardt's own failure to persuade peasants to adopt new methods. Now and then Anfimov refers casually to peasant "darkness" (see, for example, p. 368), but on the whole he places all the blame for Russian agriculture's failure to match German standards on Russian estate owners. At one point he refers to the existence of effective legal institutions in German peasant society, as if he intended to contrast this with their absence in Russia (pp. 360–62). Instead, however, he contrasts German peasant institutions with "irresponsible" *(dikie)* Russian landowners, which is simply not relevant. Anfimov's high point of absurdity comes in his description of forestry on the landed estates. At the end of a long passage devoted to the failure of Russian estate owners to preserve forest resources, he announces proudly that the great October Revolution saved Russia's forests from extinction at their hands (p. 254).

Regrettably, the book does not have a bibliography.

GEORGE I. YANEY
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K. F. SHATSILLO. *Russkii Imperializm i Razvitie Flota Nakanune Pervoi Mirovoi Voiny (1906–1914 gg.)* [Russian Imperialism and the Development of the Fleet on the Eve of the First World War (1906–1914)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 366.

The development of the Russian navy in the wake of the debacle of the Russo-Japanese War and in the age of widespread attention to naval construction and naval power has heretofore received little attention. But even through the smokescreen of the controlled Soviet historiography, this study provides considerable help in understanding why the Russian navy lagged as it did in comparison with the sea power of the other major nations. The subject is expressed through a well-known theme, the relationship between international finance capitalism and the development of Russia in the age of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism.

The book has an introduction devoted largely to a discussion of the sources used. These are basically archival materials relating to the politics, planning, and process of the naval construction program, to the role of the Duma in the fleet rearmament effort, and to the influence of militarization on the development of the national economy. The main body of the book consists of five chapters dealing with Russia in the setting of the naval rivalry of the early years of the twentieth century. The naval reconstruction program after 1905 is considered regionally, mainly as to its course in the Baltic and Black Seas. The last two chapters deal with the rebuilding program in its relationship to the Duma and with the financial aspects of the program.

It need hardly be added that the tone of the book as well as its value judgments are expressed in the Soviet historical tradition. Nevertheless, its wide reference to archival and other source materials and its publication of documents give it considerable value. It portrays the protracted process of the formation of a Russian naval policy, rendered unusually difficult by the struggles over the allotment of funds and even by the hazards of determining the mission and composition of each of the regional fleets.

JOHN A. WHITE
University of Hawaii

E. N. BURDZHALOV. *Vtoraia Russkaia Revoliutsiia: Vosstanie v Petrograde* [The Second Russian Revolution: The Uprising in Petrograd]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Nauchnyi Sovet po Kompleksnoi Probleme "Istoriia Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi Revoliutsii." Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Pedagogicheskii Institut Imeni V. I. Lenina.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 405.

Of the many books that appeared on the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, this is perhaps the most impressive. It is, in fact, one of the finest historical works to be

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published in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin. The author, a former editor of *Voprosy Istorii*, the leading Soviet historical journal, refutes a number of myths of Stalinist historiography relating to the February Revolution of 1917 (the "second" revolution of his title, the first being that of 1905). He shows, for instance, that the revolution was essentially a spontaneous affair, neither organized nor directed by the Bolshevik party, which, like all other political groups, was pulled along by the tide of events, and which remained in disarray until the arrival of Lenin in early April. Rather, it was the workers themselves who occupied the forefront, supported by the Petrograd garrison, whose cooperation guaranteed the success of the uprising.

This is not to say that the Bolsheviks had no role in the February upheaval. But taken unawares and plagued by internal divisions, they were unable to assume leadership of the revolutionary movement or to guide it toward any preconceived goals. What is more, where they did play a significant part, as Burdzhalov shows, they did so in close cooperation with the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who shared their ambition to overthrow the autocracy. Burdzhalov even has a good word for Martov and Trotsky, who, far from being chauvinistic "defensists," as they are falsely portrayed in Stalinist historiography, eloquently denounced the First World War as an imperialist struggle for power and profit with the masses serving as mere cannon fodder.

All this is extremely refreshing and is presented in a lucid style that, for all the complexity of the events described, is always easy to follow. There is a valuable and detailed chapter on the formation of the Petrograd Soviet and its activities in the first days of the uprising, during which the Mezhraiontsy, a small group of Social Democrats hovering between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, appear to have exerted an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Another chapter offers an equally valuable account of the Petrograd garrison in which close attention is given to the merging of the workers and soldiers into a unified revolutionary movement. Of particular interest is the critical role of female workers in winning over the troops and in spreading the strike movement from factory to factory. Furthermore, there is a careful account of the abdication of Nicholas II and the transfer of power from the defunct autocracy to the provisional government. The abolition, as Burdzhalov notes, by freeing the soldiers from their oath to the tsar, eased their shift to the support of the revolution, whose destiny ultimately lay in their hands. Finally, Burdzhalov shows that the February Revolution was not a bloodless affair, as often depicted, but that nearly two thousand were killed or wounded in Petrograd alone.

Roughly one-quarter of the book deals with events leading up to the revolution. Burdzhalov sees a new revolutionary wave taking shape as early as 1912 and reaching its crest on the eve of the war. He believes that the war, far from hastening the revolution, in fact delayed it. But unfortunately this controversial thesis, recently elaborated in this country by Leopold Haimson, is not developed in any convincing way. The rest of the book is confined largely to events in Petrograd during the first week of the revolution. Burdzhalov does not discuss the spread of the revolution to the provinces, a subject that he has reserved for a subsequent volume whose appearance scholars will await with eager anticipation. Meanwhile, we are already deeply in his debt for this excellent study of the uprising in the capital.

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REX A. WADE. *The Russian Search for Peace: February–October 1917*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 196. $6.50.

V. A. SHISHKIN. *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Strany Zapada v 1917–1923 gg.: Ocherki Istorii Stanovleniia Ekonomicheskikh Otnoshenii* [The Soviet State and the Countries of the West, 1917–1923: Outlines of the History of the Establishment of Economic Relations]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii, Leningradskoe Otdelenie.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningradskoe Otdelenie. 1969. Pp. 438.

In Russia in 1917 only an end to the war could have checked the army's revolution for peace at any price. Irakli Tsereteli, leader of the Soviet and major figure beside Kerensky in the second provisional government, was not, like Lenin, prepared to make a peace that by

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strengthening Imperial Germany would destroy the revolution. Tsereteli, seeking a democratic peace through appeals of reason to the peoples and governments of the belligerents, hoped that Russia, in addition to renouncing her own annexationist ambitions, might be able to persuade her allies to follow suit. Tsereteli's "revolutionary defensism," which became the foreign policy of "democratic" Russia through much of 1917, hinged upon the army's willingness to remain in the fight while the slow mills of diplomacy and international socialist conferences ground out a peace agreement for which there was never much chance short of total victory by one side. Meanwhile Lenin rode the rising tide of military anarchy to an easy victory.

Professor Wade, although much too sparse on the subject of bolshevism, has delivered an altogether masterful and marvelously concise analysis of the so-called foreign policy dilemma, focusing sharply on those tragic figures of Russian socialism—Tsereteli, Kerensky, Skobelev, Chernov, Martov, and others—who erroneously assumed that the revolution was an exercise in political democracy.

From 1917 to 1923 Russia had a most difficult time overcoming her ostracism by tenaciously establishing trade—and thereby political—relations with the outside world. Despite the obvious consideration that Russia desperately needed foreign products, Western writers have viewed Soviet trade policies in this period as geared largely to political designs. From 1917 to 1920, it is said, Russia courted hostility with Western governments because of "world revolution" and "capitalist encirclement." The year 1921 is said to have initiated a transformation in that Lenin "manipulated" the term "coexistence," and Soviet foreign policy became nationalistic because of the *Krach* of world revolution and the post-civil war economic crisis. The same point of view regarded Lenin's concessions policy as intended to divide the capitalist powers while fostering closer relations with Germany.

Thanks to such stereotypic attitudes, notes V. A. Shishkin, the early establishment of Soviet trade relations with the West has been given no serious scholarly attention. His book, however, drawing extensively upon Soviet, German, and Czech archives, has done this most carefully, making it clear that it was not Russia but the West whose bids for trade were politically tinged. The Soviet regime from the outset, he proves, tried to trade for one and only one reason: Russia needed trade. The changeover ascribed to Soviet politics in 1921 was not a "cynical" gesture by Lenin but grew largely out of capitalist desires to further the restoration of capitalism in Russia that the new economic policy seemed to herald. Shishkin points an accusing finger at Deutscher, Fainsod, and Barghoorn, among others, for perpetuating a myth through tendentious writings. He chides official Washington for basing its mistaken views on the "Soviet specialists of the Harvard and Columbia research centers," and he tears into George F. Kennan as the chief schematizer of the manner in which the Soviet government allegedly "politicalized" its trade relations. This outstanding scholarly opus is a needed reminder to United States "experts" on Russia of the virtues of humility. It has brought home to me, blushing with shame, that only artificial circumstances permitted the historians of one great country to dominate for a brief time the historiography of another.

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G. D. ALEKSEEVA. *Oktiabr'skaia Revoliutsiia i istoricheskaia Nauka v Rossii (1917–1923 gg.)* [The October Revolution and Historical Scholarship in Russia (1917–1923)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 298.

L. V. IVANOVA. *U Istokov Sovetskoi Istoricheskoi Nauki (Podgotovka Kadrov Istorikov-Marksistov v 1917–1929 gg.)* [At the Sources of Soviet Historical Science (The Preparation of Cadres of Marxist Historians, 1917–1929)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1968. Pp. 197.

These are two succinct, perceptive, remarkably complementary studies, indispensable to students of Soviet historiography. Whereas the first one covers the short period of 1917–23, the other goes beyond, carrying the subject through the 1920s. Alekseeva describes mainly the profound impact the October Revolution, with all its faltering steps in search of new interpretations of the past, had upon the writ-

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ing of history. Ivanova, on the other hand, delves deeper into the same field and describes the strenuous efforts that had been exerted during the entire 1920s in order to train new cadres of Marxist-oriented historians who were expected to teach as well as to rewrite the entire course of national history.

Though both works bristle with familiar platitudes they simultaneously reveal certain meritorious details. Both authors sometimes unwittingly show the impoverishment of historical philosophy that prevailed during those early years. They describe the plight that befell such old guard historians as S. F. Platonov or M. K. Liubavskii. At times the reader is given the impression that "bourgeois" historians were predestined to obsolescence while the Marxist-Leninist school, as the only viable one, was rightfully entitled to the exclusive privilege of interpreting the past correctly.

Numerous vignettes and episodes show the savage drive against many of the pre-Revolutionary historians. Some of these were forced to flee abroad; others, the "homeland emigrés," were to be exploited cynically by the party rulers. Thus, when in February 1921 Lenin urged the director of the recently founded Marx-Engels Institute to gather and publish every available document related to the founding fathers of materialism, he recommended that some of these records might be purchased from "the mercenary scum (*prodazhnaia svoloch'*) of [Philipp] Scheidemann & Co."

When in April of the same year E. M. Iaroslavskii sought Lenin's view as to whether two Menshevik leaders (Axelrod and Deborin) might be employed as lecturers at the Sverdlov University, the reply was brief and characteristic. "My opinion," Lenin stated, "is that both be invited for they will defend Marxism. [But] if they start to advocate menshevism we will catch them; they must be watched." Such was the atmosphere in which the new historical science was to emerge!

Students of Soviet historiography should read these two studies, which graphically describe the untrod paths Soviet historians followed during the 1920s. Many aspects for reasons only too well understandable are dealt with gingerly. On the other hand, one will find most illuminating if not startling many details that describe the truly critical and formative decade during which Soviet historical science began to emerge and take command of the "historical front."

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR
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N. IA. GUSCHIN *et al.*, editors. *Istoriografiia Sovetskoi Sibiri (1917–1945 gg.)* [Historiography of Soviet Siberia (1917–1945)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie. Institut Istorii, Filiologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Sibirskoe Otdelenie. 1968. Pp. 246.

As a source book for bibliography on the Sovietization of Siberia, this work will be welcomed by scholars who are conducting research on that area. It is divided into chapters dealing with the Revolution and civil war, the working class, the socialization of agriculture, cultural development, and socialism in the national regions, and Siberia during the Second World War. Each section ends with a list of problems that need further investigation. The authors grant only cursory attention to anti-Bolshevik literature and none to non-Russian-language studies.

The book will be particularly useful to those who are interested in the development of Soviet historiography. Russian historians have recently become less restrained by ideology than they were in the past, and, in that regard, the book reflects both the old and the new. Naturally enough, Lenin is put forward as the source of all methodological guidelines, and, in keeping with a somewhat different tradition, the writings and speeches of Stalin and Khrushchev are completely ignored. Tiresome phrases about "henchmen of imperialism" and "bourgeois falsifiers" do little to gain the confidence of non-Soviet readers. Yet such remarks are relatively rare, and the authors recognize that there was little objectivity during the Stalinist era. Furthermore, they acknowledge that the most consistent weakness of earlier works was the absence of documentation from anti-Bolshevik writers, socialist and capitalist alike. Indeed, they point to the "one-sided" nature of much of the research done on Soviet Siberia to date.

Useful as a list of Soviet writings on Siberia, interesting as a representative work of Soviet historiography, the book will accomplish much if other Russian scholars take up the challenge posed by its authors and expand the

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scope of their research on the last fifty years of Siberian history.

J. LAURENCE BLACK
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PAUL AVRICH. *Kronstadt 1921*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. 271. $8.50.

In his well-documented *Kronstadt 1921*, Paul Avrich deals objectively with the background, causes, program, possible foreign connections, and eventual suppression of the rebellion at the Kronstadt naval base just outside of Petrograd. Since the Kronstadt sailors had been among the most radical and enthusiastic supporters of the Russian revolutions of 1917, and since they were in reality "plus communiste que Lenine," to change the old quote, their revolt in 1921 could well have appealed to the idealists in the Bolshevist movement and brought about the fall of the Lenin government. Thus a study of the causes of this revolt, with the benefit of half a century of perspective, is most interesting to those studying the development of Russian communism.

While Mr. Avrich's book does not reveal anything astonishingly new or unknown, it does gather together and organize a significant part of the important material connected with this revolt and points out many of the erroneous conclusions that at times have been drawn. Thus, for example, the historian who often has been annoyed by journalistic liberties with facts can only smile knowingly when he reads (p. 97) that the New York *Times* on March 14, 1921, went so far as to state that the "sailors had taken full control in Petrograd and were defying the troops sent by Trotsky to dislodge them."

When Mr. Avrich points out the surprisingly humane and correct treatment of the Bolshevik prisoners and officials by the Kronstadt garrison, the reader might feel like asking why Communist historiography, which so strongly castigates the Thiers government for the harsh reprisals instituted against the Paris Communards (who, after all, did execute prisoners and did attempt to burn down Paris) has only approbation and no words of condemnation for the execution and brutal treatment meted out to the surrendered Kronstadters.

Kronstadt 1921 is in general a valuable addition to the literature available in English about an important event and an important period in history. I personally would have found this book a bit more readable had there been somewhat less footnoting.

NORMAN LUXENBURG
University of Iowa

N. ZUBOV. *F. E. Dzerzhinskii: Biografiia* [F. E. Dzerzhinskii: A Biography]. 2d rev. ed.; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1965. Pp. 364.

Its most devoted liegeman while he lived, the founder and first head of the Soviet secret police has continued to render yeoman service to the Communist party of the Soviet Union since his death in 1926. In an organization marked by a cruelty and brutality exceptional even by twentieth-century standards, he has served as an example of untarnished devotion to an exalted cause. To a powerful institution subject to the recurrent temptation to rival the party, he bequeathed the tradition of unquestioning subordination to the dictates of the party's leadership. And to a younger generation prone to adopt a careerist and cynical attitude toward party ideology, he has served as the embodiment of total dedication to the ideals and goals of communism.

No wonder, then, that biographies of Dzerzhinsky, collected editions of his writings, and studies of his career continue to appear in the Soviet Union, while his successors in office, with the marginal exception of Menzhinsky, have been consigned to the outer darkness.

N. Zubov (Nikolai Ivanovich Zubov) is an old hand in the field of Dzerzhinsky studies, having published a "short biography" of him less than ten years after his death (Moscow, 1933; second edition, Moscow, 1942). Taking advantage of the fairly extensive publication of documents on the Cheka after 1956, as well as of the partial relaxation of political controls that characterized the Khrushchev era, Zubov published in 1963 what was in effect a new biography of Dzerzhinsky, of which the work under review constitutes the second edi-

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tion. Zubov's book provided a reasonably full and accurate account of Dzerzhinsky's career, and while it offered no sensational disclosures concerning his work as founder of the Cheka, it did enable the reader to understand better how Dzerzhinsky's earlier career had fitted him for successfully carrying out that responsible and exacting task.

A principal reason, no doubt, why a new edition was required after such a comparatively brief period was the need to expunge the favorable references to Khrushchev that appeared in the first edition. The new edition has been substantially reworked, however, and Zubov has made good use of such newly available materials as the memoirs of Dzerzhinsky's widow and the recollections of K. Ye. Voroshilov, who was politically in disgrace in 1963.

In addition, the 1965 text contains some new details that will be of value to the historian, for example, an expanded list of Old Bolsheviks who worked in the Cheka. On the other hand, the historian must still consult the first edition, since it provided important materials, such as a list of workers in the Cheka, that have been eliminated from the 1965 text.

ROBERT M. SLUSSER
The Johns Hopkins University

IU. L. MOLCHANOV. *Komintern: U Istokov Politiki Edinogo Proletarskogo Fronta* [The Komintern: The Origins of the Tactics of the United Proletarian Front]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1969. Pp. 338.

The introduction of the tactics of the united front in 1921 represented a major turning point in the history of the Communist International, formed only two years earlier. These tactics called for communist parties to create a united proletarian front to resist the capitalist offensive and to strive for the support of a majority of the working class. By implication, efforts to prepare an armed uprising by a militant minority of workers under communist leadership were no longer acceptable. It is not surprising that many European communists saw in the united front the destruction of their dearest hopes and highest ideals.

The Soviet historian Iurii Molchanov has written a detailed history of the development and application of these new tactics in 1921 and 1922. He is interested mainly in the activities of the central Comintern organization, the executive committee, and of the Third and Fourth Comintern congresses, which met in 1921 and 1922. He obtained access to the major archival center of Comintern documents, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, but apparently was shown only published documents. There is no evidence, either in the text or in the footnotes, that he was able to consult the unpublished minutes of meetings of the executive committee or the secret documents of the secretariat. Thus his book adds no new material to the history of the Comintern. It is valuable still as a source of information on the painful process by which this revolutionary movement gave up its hopes of quick victory through open, armed struggle.

For Molchanov, the tactics were the necessary response to the changed conditions in Europe and the evident weakness of the Comintern sections. Lenin appears as the farsighted leader concerned for the welfare of the European revolutionary movement, whose leaders, as he stated in 1921, "must not become nervous" and take the decisive step "too early." His analysis was certainly correct, though that fact was not recognized by the more enthusiastic Bolsheviks like Zinoviev and Radek, or by the leaders of the French and Italian parties. From their point of view, the united front was opportunistic and reformist. Forty years later, the Chinese Communist leaders would make similar attacks upon Soviet leaders, accused of neglecting the revolutionary tactics of armed struggle. The problem of the united front is still alive in the revolutionary movement today.

DANIEL R. BROWER
University of California, Davis

NEAR EAST

HAMID ALGAR. *Religion and the State in Iran, 1785–1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period.* (Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California,

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Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 286. $9.50.

This kind of monograph on nineteenth-century Iran is most welcome. Compared to Western scholarship on several other countries of the area, that on modern Iran has lagged lamentably. Until many more such monographs appear, no adequate or definitive history of the period can be produced.

The subject of this study is of prime importance. It clearly requires thorough knowledge of the relevant literature in Persian; this the author demonstrates. Bibliographical coverage and documentation are excellent. Primary sources are well exploited, but it is a sad commentary on the state of Persian historiography that secondary works in Persian—mostly written in the last two decades—outnumber period sources three to one. Few Western scholars have so well explored modern Iranian scholarship dealing with Qajar history, nor to such judicious result, since so much of it has to be used with critical caution.

Professor Algar's thesis is cogently clear: the significant part played by the Shi'i clergy in events culminating in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 was but the climax of a century of struggle between the *ulama* and successive Qajar rulers, the clergy championing the nation in its struggle against the state and opposing the latter's efforts toward centralization of power and Westernization, understood by the majority of *ulama* and people as inimical to Islamic Iran.

This thesis gives historical perspective for understanding the resultant paradox: "The obtaining of the constitution was a climax to a century of friction and conflict . . . and at the same time tended to reduce the influence of the clerical classes on politics and society. It may thus be fittingly regarded as the final episode in the exercise of their dominant role in Qajar Iran" (p. 256). It may be added that in Pahlavi Iran that role may not be dominant, but it is still to be reckoned with and properly assayed, and for that purpose also this study is welcome.

T. CUYLER YOUNG
University of Nairobi

AFRICA

ROBIN HALLETT. *Africa to 1875: A Modern History.* (The University of Michigan History of the Modern World.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 483, xx. $8.95.

The task of preparing a general history of Africa remains great, and the results—despite several efforts during the last decade, one of the latest being the book under review—are still less than satisfactory. There is a vast body of uneven research that is difficult to treat comparatively; there are many societies among which one selects arbitrarily rather than representatively in building generalization; and marked recent changes in critical techniques and interpretive standards are still subjects of unresolved debate.

Formerly a civil servant in British Africa, now an associate fellow of St. Anthony's and research officer for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford, Robin Hallett has previously published studies of recent West African affairs and of European penetration into Africa. These experiences are reflected in the present work, which is strongest in the sections dealing with northern and western Africa and in the treatment of the century before 1850, the heyday of penetration prior to annexation.

The author attempts to resolve the conflicting demands of a need for enormous diversity and of a need for focus by dividing the book into an introduction plus two main parts: part 1 is an extensive resumé of the history of the largest possible number of component societies in each of eight regions of Africa from the beginning of time to 1850; part 2 is a review of a selective cross section of polities in each region about the year 1850. There is a final, short, general review of the continent in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that brings the volume down to 1875; plus there are notes at the end, a bibliography, and an index.

The introductory pages attempt to raise basic questions and to indicate the major research problems in African history. In many

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ways the treatment is digressive and the information inconclusive, so that the questions and problems—even when, as is often the case, they cannot be answered—are not as clear as they might be. Typically, one here encounters difficulties that persist throughout the work, such as reference to race and language terms now rejected by most scholars (for example, references to "Hamites" and mixed populations derived from them or to the alleged Caucasoid influences on Hottentot cattle raising and upon Fulani physical appearance). Yet these references stand alongside terms and categories that can be obtained only from the writings of the very specialists who have questioned such notions.

The division of Africa into eight regions, admittedly arbitrary, is well suited to the development of thumbnail histories of the large number of societies treated. It has the great advantage of permitting some framework of continuity through whatever time span is known for each group. It almost totally precludes, however, any larger synthesis or analysis—admittedly dangerous but nonetheless necessary to consider if a work is to be turned from a catalogue into a general history—and this breakdown makes critical comparisons almost imperceivable for readers unfamiliar with Africa. Certain events and societies are more important than others; the general historian by definition cannot avoid commiting himself to such judgments. He cannot improve much upon the sources he must use for local data and detail, though he may in his cataloguing function standardize them so that his *raison d'être* as a generalist must still be justified. In this respect chapters 5 through 7, grouped as "Regional Variations to 1850," are disappointing and diffuse.

Quite a different impression is conveyed by the next nine chapters, which are effectively grouped around the theme of "African Polities in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century." This is a veritable Baedeker of historical forces in action and interaction in the period the author knows so well. There is an interesting and thought-provoking interplay of autonomous and cross-cultural elements at work, and the definite focus upon African territory keeps indigenous and alien forces in balance. The choice of the year 1850 is felicitous; while not itself momentous, it encompassed changes and included major personalities that well illustrate the process of development and historical transformation that has taken place in Africa as well as other continents. Quite distinct in tone and depth from the preceding sections, in many ways these chapters are the substance and primary value of this work.

Part of the author's difficulties in compiling this book may be reflected in the bibliography. In the main it is a competent and broad survey of the major literature, but, except for well-known publications grouped around a few current debates, it almost entirely excludes the groundswell of literature issued in the five to seven years preceding its publication. This may be one reason for the perpetuation of dubious hypotheses and many points of view that have recently been questioned, and it would also explain why the survey of affairs for 1850 is superior to the efforts at historical chronology or long-range synthesis.

There are ten pages of maps, though it is regrettable that they have not been more effectively integrated with the textual material or more clearly prepared.

DONALD L. WIEDNER
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ASIA AND THE EAST

JOHN Z. BOWERS. *Western Medical Pioneers in Feudal Japan*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. 1970. Pp. xi, 245. $8.95.

In very readable narrative and with helpful appendixes including a chronology, a glossary, and a bibliography, the author has succeeded in bringing together in compact form a wealth of information on the activities and observations of five Western medical pioneers who had visited and worked in Japan between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Using the biographical approach, the author has treated each of the pioneers—Ten Rhijine, Kaempfer, Thunberg, von Siebold, and van Meerdervoort—in the order of their

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appearance in Japan and has woven into each biography relevant explanations of the sociopolitical background of the times. If the inclusion of background material appears to some to be excessive, it must be remembered that no satisfactory assessment of the impact of Western medicine on the Japanese would have been possible without frequent references to the peculiarities and contradictions of the sociopolitical background of Tokugawa Japan (1600–1868)—a peaceful, flourishing society ruled by a privileged, hereditary class of professional fighting men and a society eager for foreign intercourse but denied the right to go abroad or to receive foreigners except for a handful of Chinese and Dutch, or Dutch-sponsored Europeans.

To others the author's penchant to digress—often far afield—into such areas as the customs of the Hottentots of Africa or the history of the founding of the British Museum may be annoying. But here again the reader should be reminded that men like Kaempfer, Thunberg, and von Siebold were scientists of wide repute and were a part of the larger movement known as "the expansion of Europe," which brought Western civilization to all corners of the world and which itself developed and was enriched by the new cultural contacts. Thunberg was a pupil-disciple of the famed Linnaeus. Kaempfer's voluminous writings on Japan had become a part of the Sloanne Collection, which later was sold to the British government and which formed the beginnings and the core of the British Museum. Thus, what may appear at first glance as digressions are really integral parts of the great phenomenon of European expansion.

This book is, therefore, not only an informative book on medical concepts and practices in feudal Japan, but it is also, and perhaps more significantly, an illuminating chapter on cultural expansion and cultural interchange of the period during and following the Age of Discovery.

MINORU SHINODA
East-West Center
University of Hawaii

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan.* (Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 421. $10.00.

The years from 1853 to 1868 inflict upon students of the Japanese past torturous problems of interpretation. The historian is perplexed less by what happened during these years—confused and entangled as the events were—than by their relation to what ensued. The political crisis provoked by Perry and resolved by the Meiji Restoration of 1868 led to a generation of breathless reform that launched Japan into the modern world. Seeking the roots of this revolutionary behavior in the political movements that led to the overthrow of the old regime, the historian encounters an apparent paradox of a reactionary ideology sponsoring a revolutionary political movement. He finds opponents of the Tokugawa order expressing no clear vision of a new society but instead apotheosizing traditional values and urging a return to prefeudal monarchy. Albert Craig's study of Chōshū concluded that the Restoration was not a revolution but "a change carried out in the name of old values . . . a change brought about by men intent on fulfilling the goals of their inherited tradition . . . a change brought about unwittingly by men who before 1868 had no conception of its eventual social ramifications."

Professor Harootunian has little patience with this view. Criticizing recent historiography for its "inordinate effort to minimize the revolutionary dimensions of the Meiji Restoration," he argues that Restoration activists radically rejected (or, at least, transformed) their intellectual heritage. Harootunian concedes that they possessed no clear blueprint for the future but maintains that they were "no less eager to repudiate history than French revolutionaries in 1789. The values they espoused were traditional in name only. They used the only vocabulary they had at their disposal, but the content was new." He feels that "the appeal to tradition was simply a device," and he chooses to stress the conscious destruction of inherited norms of behavior and the importance of extremism and "revolutionary rage" in preparing the way for the Restoration.

In a comparative context the historian of the Japanese experience is impressed by the

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pragmatic, experimental approach toward politics that emerged in this period as a response to the Western challenge. Harootunian greatly enhances our understanding of the dynamics and process of this development by tracing the erosion of Neo-Confucian dogmatism and the growth of political realism. This transformation of "a moribund ethical culture into active political culture" grew out of dynamic new concepts of history and the functions of government that were latent in the cultural heritage but that were evoked and developed by the opening of the country. Restoration activists were thereby "liberated from the lifeless world of ethical abstraction"; and the way was opened for "a rigorous political realism founded on an investigation of contemporary society."

This is not an easy book; the author's material and his diffuse style sometimes combine to make it hard going for the reader. Occasionally one may wish for a more carefully organized and tightly reasoned presentation. Harootunian's approach to intellectual history is, nonetheless, intelligent and imaginative. He treats the ideas of the individual activist not on their own terms but on the basis of their function in the changing structure of thought and behavior in this period. He offers bold, new interpretations of two major figures: Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin; and he tells us much about two other less noticed figures: Maki Izumi and Yokoi Shōnan. In all, he has given the Western literature on Japan its best study of late Tokugawa thought.

KENNETH B. PYLE
University of Washington

GERALD H. ANDERSON, editor. *Studies in Philippine Church History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 421. $14.50.

Few subjects interest historians less than church history in a Far Eastern setting. Yet, there is no more interesting story than the Roman Catholic Church's conduct in the Philippines during the Hispanic and American colonial regimes. The relationship of the Philippine Catholic Church and colonial governance had no parallel anywhere. Ecclesiastical interference in the local governments led to clashes with Spain's civil authorities who were unwilling or unable to challenge the missionaries (or friars, as they were known popularly). Spain's inability to stop friarocracy led to hatred for the friars on the part of the indigenous elite. This group resented friar domination of their lives. Moreover, the friars' refusal to yield control of established parishes angered the elite's sons who found that their path to ecclesiastical preferment was being blocked by the Spanish friars. By the mid-nineteenth century the elite became convinced that relief from friarocracy would never be obtained from Spain. Furthermore, they believed that Rome would never heed their pleas for redress until they controlled their political destinies. And the close relationship of Church and state was not altered appreciably when the United States annexed the Philippines. It was the frustrations caused by that annexation and by papal refusal to recognize the worthiness of the local clergy for the episcopacy that caused a schism in the Philippine Catholic Church. The nationalist Philippine Independent Church might have gained the loyalty of most Christians if Governor William H. Taft had not favored the Roman Catholic Church. The American governor, however, counted on the Catholic Church's conservatism to instill obedience to America. But if the favors shown the Roman Catholic Church by the American colonial authorities permitted it to challenge successfully the nationalist Philippine Independent Church, American sovereignty opened the door to American Protestant activities. The growth of Protestantism bears testimony to the hatreds aroused by friarocracy and inept Spanish rule.

This then is the subject of the nineteen essays found in this work. It is difficult, however, to assess the efforts of seventeen different essayists. All that can be said is that they address themselves to the subject in the very best historical manner. Of the seventeen authors, half are professors of theology or church history in the Philippines; the others are Philippine or American scholars interested in Philippine history. Students of the Philippines and Church history will value this work for its insights into the depth of Church involvement in colonial governance.

MICHAEL PAUL ONORATO
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EMILY SADKA. *The Protected Malay States, 1874–1895*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xv, 464. $13.50.

This work is a close view of four Malay states prior to and following British intervention in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the Western powers were continuing to spread their imperialist grip on Southeast Asia. The work is based on research done in Malaya and later presented as a doctoral thesis at the Australian National University. The author, born and educated in Singapore and the United Kingdom, presents in great detail a historical account of the British residential system of government administration in the protected Malay states during the period 1874–95. This study will amplify greatly the former works of *The Making of Modern Malaya* (1965) by N. J. Ryan and *Malaysia Prospect and Retrospect* (1968) by Richard Allen, both of which make only general reference to the residential system.

One of the principal values of this work is a detailed description of the way in which the British officials exercised authority in the Malay states nominally under advice, and the part played by Malay rulers, the chiefs, and local Malay authorities in governing the states. The policies that evolved to carry out programs related to economic and social change are well documented.

It is emphasized that notwithstanding the official policy and strategy in London that was active in bringing about British control over the Malay states, it was primarily the local administrators, with their economic motives, who pressed strongly for actual intervention. The British administrators, finding an already established tin mining industry with Chinese labor and management, were desirous of participation in the existing mining enterprise by bringing in British capital, machinery, and management. There were also plans on the part of the British to establish large-scale agriculture on a plantation basis.

During the period when the British residents became established in certain states of Malaya, various facets of the social structure were radically changed. The population settlements were altered due to the immigration of thousands upon thousands of Chinese and Malays, not to mention the indentured Indian immigrants—all of whom eventually were employed in the tin mines or the rubber plantations. New lines of communications were established, necessary labor and land policies emerged, settlement patterns changed, and a whole new form of government was put into practice.

The work is very well documented and concludes with a commendable bibliography of source materials, including reference to the unpublished private papers of the Anson Correspondence, the Swettenham Papers, and the Journal of Collector and Magistrate of Kuala Langat.

CECIL HOBBS
Library of Congress

AMERICAS

EDMUND RANDOLPH. *History of Virginia*. Edited with an introduction by ARTHUR H. SHAFFER. (Virginia Historical Society, Documents, Volume 9.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1970. Pp. xliv, 347. $10.00.

Publication of a modern, scholarly edition of Edmund Randolph's *History of Virginia* complete with a thoughtful introduction by the editor and a brief account by John Melville Jennings of the unfortunate history of the manuscript is a welcome event. Written by Randolph between 1809 and 1813 during the last years of his long, involuntary retirement from public office, the *History* was never published during the nineteenth century, despite several proposals to do so, and two complete copies seem to have been destroyed by fire. The text of the present edition, small portions of which were published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in the 1930s, is from an imperfect and incomplete copy discovered in the Virginia Historical Society in 1870 and apparently the only surviving version.

The *History*'s value derives from neither the

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exhaustiveness of the research nor the comprehensiveness or originality of the narrative. Indeed, almost half of the work is devoted to Virginia's first two decades and is taken almost entirely from William Stith's *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, while substantial portions of the material on the War for Independence is copied from John Marshall's *Life of George Washington*. Moreover, Randolph dispenses with the 145 years between the dissolution of the Virginia Company and the Stamp Act crisis in a mere sixteen pages so that the section on the coming of the Revolution, which comprises slightly more than a third of the volume, is the only part that is entirely original and reasonably comprehensive.

What makes the *History* so valuable are the insights it provides into some of the central concerns of the leaders of the Revolutionary generation in Virginia, a generation of which Randolph was a conspicuous member. Because of limitations of space, only two of those concerns can be discussed here. The first was to establish Virginia's primacy in the Revolution. Randolph stated this concern in his second sentence with the sweeping claim that it was Virginia's "influence which largely contributed to the establishment of American independence and to the formation of that most illustrious among civil acts, the Constitution of the United States." But an even more basic concern, which gives shape to the entire history, was to explain how Virginia—alone of all the colonies—should have been able to exert such an extraordinary influence. Randolph found the explanation for this phenomenon not primarily in Virginia's superior wealth and population but in its special character, a character that had gradually taken shape during the colonial period. The essential ingredients of that character—an abiding commitment to moderation, order, virtue, personal independence, and the public welfare—had been so thoroughly internalized by Virginians as to become integral parts of their personality and to make it almost inevitable that they would assume the direction of the Revolution. Randolph's handling of these and other main themes makes his *History* an invaluable index to both the self-conceptions and the ideal imperatives of the political culture of the Revolutionary generation in Virginia.

JACK P. GREENE
The Johns Hopkins University

MARCHETTE CHUTE. *The First Liberty: A History of the Right to Vote in America, 1619–1850.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1969. Pp. xii, 371. $8.95.

The first difficulty raised by Miss Chute's way of writing history is that she writes as though history raised no problems. She has evidently read very carefully in many of the standard collections of printed sources and has accumulated much information, which she transmits in lucid and unpretentious prose. She begins her story with the Virginia Company, touches on the Levellers and the Putney Debates, and carries the reader through all of the leading colonial and early national debates and crises that involved the suffrage, concluding with Dorr War in Rhode Island. Much of this work has been accomplished with unostentatious technical skill and with a real feeling for the persons about whose actions her story turns. But it remains essentially a story turning on individuals rather than an interpretation of problems. It is hard to see what a student who has read the leading recent works on early American suffrage and politics is likely to learn from this book.

The suffrage is fully as important as Miss Chute holds it to be, but it cannot really be treated separately from the related problems of the size of constituencies, length of service, relations between voters and their representatives, publication of debates, and the whole nexus of issues that have occupied the scholarship of the last ten or more years. Miss Chute has tried to follow the single thread of suffrage, only occasionally complicating her narrative by letting in the problems to which it was politically related, as she does rather lightly, in connection with Virginia in 1829. Her methods no doubt make for a certain cleanness of line, but they lead her, for example, to give an account of the successive drafts of the Pennsylvania Frame of Government in which all the amendments appear to be due to modifications in Penn's personal opinions. Her closeness to the printed sources has been admirably

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thorough and correct; one would not wish to fault her statements, and such modest conclusions as she offers are not misleading. She seems, however, to have missed much of the monographic writing—going back as far as W. F. Craven on the Virginia Company—that has elucidated the meaning of these sources. In redress, it should be said that she has brought a great deal of information into a skillfully balanced narrative, which is accurate, sensible, and pleasant to read.

J. R. POLE
Churchill College, Cambridge

THOMAS T. MCAVOY, C.S.C. *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1969. Pp. v, 504. $14.00.

Perhaps the most misunderstood and wrongly maligned minority in the United States are the Roman Catholics. Representing an unusually wide divergence of ethnic and economic backgrounds, they today comprise an estimated twenty to twenty-five per cent of the total American population. Because of their numbers and their principally urban orientation, and because of traditional biases stemming from the Reformation, so many myths have developed concerning them that neither Catholic nor non-Catholic truly understands the American Catholic minority.

Father McAvoy's book goes a long way to dispel many of these myths. The first general history in more than two generations, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* is principally an institutional history, tracing the development of the organized Church from its vague beginnings in colonial Maryland through to the revolutionary changes of the Second Vatican Council. For purposes of cohesion it focuses chiefly on the older archdioceses and on only one or two prelates in each period of growth or change.

Myths are dispelled as the narrative describes the impact such diverse challenges as American religious pluralism, lay trusteeism, and the immigrant status of Catholics had on transplanted Old World patterns of institutional structure. No monolithic organization is apparent as each of the dozens of dioceses struggled with its interpretation of the common leadership of Rome. Nor does an identifiable membership emerge as uniformly concerned with specific issues, even those directly involving basic questions of faith.

Unlike his predecessors, Father McAvoy is not defensive. On the contrary, he is highly critical of the Church's inadequacies in adapting itself to the breadth of American society. His strongest criticisms are leveled at a weak educational system, internecine struggles of the hierarchy, Vatican policies based on misinformation, and a general indifference among the laity. Surprisingly, however, he tends to ignore the American Church's weak stand on social questions, especially in the light of Rerum novarum and Quadragesimo anno.

And this is the principal weakness of the book. There is too little discussion of Catholic activity, or the lack of it, in terms of the ghetto, labor unions, abolition and civil rights, and politics. Yet, it must be admitted, such discussion would expand the book enormously. The combing of diocesan archives is in itself a monumental task, which, incidentally, points out the primary difficulty confronting Catholic historiography.

Besides being a much needed narrative account, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* serves additional important functions. It provides for the first time a reference source on U.S. Catholicism. And, typical of McAvoy's approach to scholarship, it asks more questions than it answers. It dramatically indicates the gaping holes that must be filled before a complete understanding of American Catholicism is possible. Thomas McAvoy, along with John Tracy Ellis, has shown how these gaps are to be filled. And finally, the book is a fitting memorial to a lifetime dedicated to maintaining high levels of the dual integrity required of the priest-scholar.

FRANK T. REUTER
Texas Christian University

ROBERT G. POPE. *The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 321. $10.00.

Robert G. Pope's survey of the varied reactions of the New England churches to the principles of the synod of 1662 is a competent, creditable, and scholarly effort. It is, however,

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a monograph of severely limited interest and utility. What Mr. Pope has written is actually a "descriptive survey" (p. 10) of an index to a half century of institutional and social crises. Relying on sermons and other published religious works, government records, and local church records (where available), Mr. Pope discovered a tenacious lay opposition to innovation, and the significant role that extraneous factors played in determining the response to the new membership criteria. The struggle over the half-way covenant soon became subservient to other more important, more fundamental issues—such as the competition between congregationalists and "presbyterialists" in Connecticut, politics in Massachusetts, and personalities and local custom everywhere. Mr. Pope even interprets the final adoption of the half-way principle as a result of the insecurity and anxiety produced in the 1670s and 1680s by King Philip's War and the loss of the charter.

That Mr. Pope could confuse a symptom of change with more basic processes is a result of, first, an over-dependence on Perry Miller's "model" of New England history and, second, the absence of any overt methodology to check his untested assumptions about social behavior. Certainly religion was fundamentally important to seventeenth-century New Englanders. But was not theology also the language used to express and work out social and psychological problems? Mr. Pope assumes that there was a direct causal relationship between the published ideals of Puritanism and actual behavior among New Englanders. He also assumes that there must have been a high degree of consistency between church institutions and the formally expressed "religious" needs of the institution's constituency. Neither of these assumptions is necessarily valid; and if Mr. Pope is incorrect in his premises (as I believe he is in this instance), then his book is of value primarily to historians interested in the descriptive history of Connecticut and Massachusetts Puritansim per se. Mr. Pope pursues his subject diligently and completely, but as it stands his monograph has unfulfilled potential.

DAVID KOBRIN
State University of New York, Albany

G. B. WARDEN. *Boston: 1689–1776*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1970. Pp. 404. $12.50.

G. B. Warden's *Boston: 1689–1776* is a handsomely designed book that will provide a public interested in the approaching bicentennial celebration of 1776 a readable and satisfying introduction to political events in Boston prior to independence. Warden's narrative is clearly written, often entertaining, and fully in sympathy with the patriotic Bostonians. As a scholarly contribution to the continuing analysis of politics and the revolutionary crisis of the eighteenth century, however, this study of Boston will be deeply disappointing to most historians.

The first half of Warden's book covers a period (1689–1760) that is still relatively unfamiliar. He emphasizes the recurring political antagonism between the governors and the Bostonians, especially the elder and younger Cooke, who established "Boston's first political 'machine'" (p. 91), and local issues such as the creation of a borough system to replace the town meeting, regulation of the public markets, and paper currency. Beneath these issues Warden sees a continuous "half-formed desire to break away from English policies" (p. 71) and an extraordinary degree of local control, based upon the town meeting, that fostered the feeling within the community that it was "not merely an imitation of English society but an autonomous community, an independent entity" in which "harmony, independence, responsibility and freedom" were "daily realities" (p. 79). Yet Warden also asserts that "It is something of a miracle that a revolution did not occur" in Boston in the 1720s, a decade repeatedly described as one of chaos, when severe financial crisis, smallpox, clerical disputes, and political confrontations formed a situation that "included nearly every element which usually precipitates violent social and political change" (p. 81). From the evidence provided, however, this portrait of incipient revolution seems grossly exaggerated. After a chapter on attempted reforms of the town's institutions and practices between 1730 and 1741 and another on conflicts over taxation and currency (1741–60), Warden devotes the second half of the book to a narrative of the familiar events and personalities connected with the crises of the 1760s and early 1770s.

In view of the penetrating studies now

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available of politics in England and America, Warden's study of Boston during the prerevolutionary era seems extremely superficial. Minimizing the role of ideology, he sees "the sequence of events . . . as a protest movement which had few revolutionary qualities in its early stages" and as a "process influenced not simply by the inherent logic of ideas or deterministic forces," but also "by the subtle interplay over time of ideas, conditions, decisions, passions, mistakes and gradual awareness of hidden assumptions" that "finally" made men into revolutionaries (p. 362). Given his assumptions, it is remarkable that he speaks continuously of "the Bostonians" as though they formed a homogeneous group, yet never analyzes the population in terms of wealth, status, occupation, demographic characteristics, family connections, living arrangements, residential patterns, education, religious affiliations, or other aspects of the lives of the Bostonians that would help to illuminate the nature of their community and their politics. Even when lists of participants in groups such as the North End Caucus are available, indicating an "interlocking membership" in patriot organizations, he fails to analyze the composition of these groups. Thus we still do not know who actually participated in the revolution in Boston. Surely in a town as small and static as this, one could identify and scrutinize the individuals who favored, who opposed, or who stood neutral on the issues of the 1760s and 1770s. Warden rarely does.

Part of the explanation for the inadequacies of Warden's study undoubtedly rests with the sources themselves, since he often notes (pp. 48, 51, 61, 73, 108, 115) the absence of evidence, including Boston's tax lists. Yet it is clear from his footnotes—but not from the bibliography, which lists only printed primary and secondary sources—that he has done a prodigious amount of research in extensive manuscript collections pertaining to Boston. Surely there is more in these sources than Warden has chosen to reveal in his book. If not, historians will never be able to understand the dynamics, best seen on the local level and through the lives of individuals and the activities of groups, of the revolution in Boston.

PHILIP J. GREVEN, JR.
Rutgers University

JAMES F. RICHARDSON. *The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901.* (The Urban Life in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 332. $8.50.

The current debate over the relationship between police and the communities they serve has unmistakable nineteenth-century origins, as this study clearly suggests. The small and generally well-ordered town of colonial years had only a night watch, but the industrial city required well-defined police measures. In this book James Richardson analyzes the municipal response to urban crime and violence caused by heavy immigration, massive poverty, and periodic riots stemming from racial, ethnic, and religious rivalries. Constantly punctuated by police brutality, departmental corruption, political tampering, patronage appointments, administrative inefficiency, and uneven law enforcement, the story is hardly one of which New York's "finest" can be proud. The varying views New Yorkers held about the police provide a central theme; some believed in strong authority as necessary to maintain a peaceful city, while others felt the police posed a threat to liberty. Thus in the 1840s libertarians opposed a uniformed force, seeing it as a kind of standing army. Later reformers faced the dilemma of demanding rigorous law enforcement while simultaneously seeking to limit or divide police authority. Much like contemporary Americans, nineteenth-century New Yorkers could not agree on the role of the police in urban society. The department was continually embroiled in debate and conflict between city and state, mayor and police commissioners, Republicans and Democrats, reformers and regulars, immigrants and native Americans, police and people. By the twentieth century New York City still did not have a professional police force. The department remained subservient to Tammany, and men sought and bought police appointments and promotions to line their pockets with payoffs from gamblers, prostitutes, and saloonkeepers.

While revealing much about urban attitudes and the tensions of nineteenth-century city growth, the book is especially good at illuminating the intricate interconnections between police administration and politics. Urban themes are handled knowledgeably, and

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there is an excellent section on the draft riots of 1863. Richardson has effectively utilized extensive published city records, newspaper and periodical sources, personal accounts of policemen, and numerous manuscript materials in the New York City Municipal Archives, including the papers of various nineteenth-century mayors. The destruction of most departmental records early in this century, however, made it difficult to reconstruct police history from the view of the average patrolman. Although narrowly focused on New York, this book is a solidly researched and important monograph in urban history, comparable to Roger Lane's recent study of the Boston police.

RAYMOND A. MOHL
Florida Atlantic University

JOHN L. KESSELL. *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767*. Foreword by ERNEST J. BURRUS, S. J. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 224. $10.00.

This impressive volume relates the story of what the author calls "a crumbling ruin ten miles northeast of Nogales, Arizona." This is what is left of an important link in the Jesuit missionary enterprise among the Pima Indians: Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, which served its apostolic purposes in Pimeria Alta from 1691 to 1767. Here we have a completely satisfying account, researched in depth and written in an admirable manner. One only hopes, after perusal of John L. Kessell's work, that this promising young scholar will go on to other such studies. Few are as well prepared to do so as he.

Ernest Burrus, S.J., also of outstanding competence in the field, refers in his foreward to the fact that Kessell's study derives its extraordinary significance from its uniqueness as the first and only study in depth of the mission of Guevavi. In many ways it is a sad story, and not for nothing does Kessell call his account *Mission of Sorrows*. Readers will agree, however, that the account as presented from archival and other sources reveals that heroism was not lacking among those Jesuits who manned the apostolic ramparts in this remote part of Pimeria Alta. In this regard, mention should be made of the balanced appraisal of this same missionary apostolate with its plus and minus features frankly discussed by the author.

It is a pleasure to praise the literary dress in which the Guevavi story appears. The University of Arizona Press is indeed to be commended for its product here. There are several relevant illustrations as well as some excellent maps. What a distinct pleasure it is to salute a first-class volume that is worth the price asked for it.

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S. J.
University of San Francisco

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, with the assistance of SHEILA C. STEEN. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca: The History and Culture of the Great Iroquois Nation, Their Destruction and Demoralization, and Their Cultural Revival at the Hands of the Indian Visionary, Handsome Lake*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xiii, 384, xi. $8.95.

Of the rash of books produced by the current flurry of interest in Indians, this is perhaps the best. Wallace is a practitioner of ethnohistory, or history in the round, as it has been called. Trained in anthropology, he is equally at home with the manuscripts the historian considers his special province. This versatility has produced an account of the rise of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, that provides us the best description yet of one of the phenomena known as Indian messiah movements.

The first part of the three-part volume Wallace devotes to describing the Iroquois society that produced Handsome Lake. The political and social systems of these much-studied people are detailed in a writing style pleasantly free from the difficult constructions that usually afflict such treatments and repel the nonspecialist.

The second part traces the decline of the Iroquois Confederation as French power in North America faded, and with it the Iroquois strategy of playing one power off against the other. The American Revolution briefly breathed new life into what Wallace calls the Play-off System, but the physical beating the Iroquois took during that war left them exhausted in 1783. Some of the Senecas

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would be involved in the efforts to withstand, with British backing, American expansion between 1783 and 1812, but for most Iroquois, collaboration or flight to Canada were the responses to the new situation.

In the third and last part, Wallace details the role of Handsome Lake and his visions in the rebirth of the Senecas and, through them, the Iroquois. The prophet's ministry began with his first vision in 1799 and terminated with his death in 1815. Aided and inspired by devoted Quaker missionaries and the United States government—the Quakers motivated by their will to do good and the government more impressed by the necessity of pacifying a nation of warriors—Handsome Lake proved a real reformer. He persuaded his people to embark on a new road that blended religious conservatism and secular progress and that a generation after his death was institutionalized in the Handsome Lake Church, the longhouse religion.

Only a scholar with Wallace's qualifications could have given us such a satisfactory account. His descriptions of the elements of Iroquois culture and the realistic picture of Iroquois degeneration are particularly good and a welcome relief from the romanticized nonsense that pervades so many of the volumes being rushed into print by publishers eager to capitalize on the present market.

WILLIAM T. HAGAN
State University of New York, Fredonia

WILLIAM L. MCDOWELL, JR., editor. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754–1765.* (Colonial Records of South Carolina.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Department of Archives & History. 1970. Pp. lv, 657. $20.00.

This impressive volume concludes series 2 of the *Colonial Records of South Carolina.* The series reproduces the manuscript "Indian Books" of the South Carolina Archives and makes easily available in its three large volumes the extensive material that relates to the problem of Indian affairs for South Carolina. Book 1 appeared in the first volume for the period from 1710 to 1718; books 2–4 were in the second volume for 1750 to 1754; and the remaining books 5–6 along with the "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade, 1762–1765" fill the final issue that is the subject of this review. The manuscript "Indian Books" was kept by a clerk who transcribed a variety of original documents such as letters, journals of Indian traders, trade lists, Indian "talks," and muster rolls. Since most of the original documents are no longer extant, these books provide a valuable source of colonial records, and they have substantial information that can contribute to a better ethnohistorical account of the Indians. Three brief documents in the volume are in French.

Indian affairs were important for all of the American colonies in the French and Indian War, and they were of particular significance for South Carolina, which occupied a pivotal position for the Southern colonies. Governor James Glen projected Indian affairs and other frontier problems to a foremost position where they continued to receive major attention under Governor William Henry Lyttelton and other successors. Containing information about such Indian tribes as the Catawbas, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws, the records deal most extensively with the Cherokees, whose size and location made them most critical to South Carolina both as friend and foe. The last "Indian Book" concludes with letters relating to the Cherokee War that erupted in 1760.

This volume maintains the same high standard of scholarly editing that characterized the first two publications in the series. Faithfully reproducing the documents without annotation, the editor adds a thirty-four page introduction as historical background and includes a convenient calendar of documents listed chronologically.

W. STITT ROBINSON
University of Kansas

HILLER B. ZOBEL. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xi, 372. $8.50.

The Boston Massacre occurred on "the fateful fifth of March," 1770, when several wigmakers' apprentices began to taunt a lone sentry stationed in front of the Boston customs house. A crowd quickly gathered; Cap-

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tain Thomas Preston and seven soldiers rushed to the sentry's aid; an order to fire was heard; the soldiers fired; five persons were killed, and others were wounded. According to tradition the massacre was the direct and inevitable result of British oppression, and the first blood sacrifice to American liberty and independence. As a sequel, John Adams' successful defense of Captain Preston and the soldiers at their trials stands as a noble monument to American justice.

Professor Zobel believes that the massacre was the result of a gradual breakdown of law and order in the face of controlled violence. During the Stamp Act crisis Boston radicals allied themselves with the Boston mobs. The decision to use the mobs was momentous. "The radicals sought a political goal by physical means, and they achieved it. . . . But in doing so at such an early stage in the dispute, they ensured that the future course of disagreement could never be resolved without force." The attempt to support law and order with military force failed. "Soldiers," as John Adams said, "will always occasion two mobs, where they prevent one. They are wretched conservators of the peace."

Professor Zoble, a lawyer and co-editor of the legal papers of John Adams, examines the breakdown of law and order and the massacre largely through court records that have been little used by earlier historians. Although legal evidence does not resolve all of the ambiguities surrounding the massacre, Zobel suggests several amendments to the traditional interpretation. The massacre, for example, was as much the result of the radicals' escalation of violence as of British oppression. The famous trials seem to have been shams. "No matter what went on at the court, the defendents would not have been executed. Preston's jury was safely packed; the soldiers if convicted would have received reprieves and pardons."

The general excellence of this work is marred by the exaggerated influence and power attributed to Samuel Adams. According to Zobel, Adams manipulated nearly everything and everyone in Boston from 1765 until relative calm returned in 1771. Adams was a skillful politician, but he was not all-powerful. Moreover, Oliver Dickerson's assertion that John Hancock was the near victim of British revenue racketeers deserves comment in connection with the *Liberty* affair.

DAVID R. MILLAR
Hamilton College

IRWIN H. POLISHOOK. *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774–1795.* (Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 5.) Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 268. $8.50.

Polishook's book will long remain the standard work on Rhode Island between 1774 and 1795. In the opening years, both merchants and farmers supported colonial unity as represented by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. But, as unity came to mean the Constitution as drawn up in Philadelphia and ultimately ratified during the winter of 1787–88, Rhode Islanders were no longer quite so certain. They broke into two major factions, with farmers wanting a paper money system with forcing acts at its center and merchants wanting the power of a revitalized central government to defeat the economic interests of farmers. The results are well known and Rhode Island, under threats of dismemberment, rejoined the Union.

Would that there were more state monographs of this quality focusing upon the Confederation.

The book does pose one problem, however, inherent within recent American historiography. According to the author's preface, the book offers the first fresh appraisal of the period in seventy years. But, in those seventy years since the late nineteenth century, historians have developed a new consciousness. The population of Rhode Island was highly diversified. Quakers existed in sizable numbers, Jews provided a portion of the mercantile population, blacks comprised part of the laboring population. And yet, with rare exception, there is no mention of what each of these groups was doing and how they were interacting. The bibliography cites few works that might be classed as "ethnic"—two studies dealing with blacks in Rhode Island—and even these are mentioned only briefly in the text. The key to the book is given in such chapter headings as "Political and Economic Background," "Rhode Island Defeats the Im-

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post," and "The Paper-Money Tangle." The history of Rhode Island from 1774 to 1795 may well have been less the history of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants than Polishook unwittingly implies.

ROBERT A. FEER
Northeastern University

BROADUS MITCHELL. *Alexander Hamilton: The Revolutionary Years.* (Leaders of the American Revolution Series.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1970. Pp. viii, 386. $10.00.

No scholar of this century has done more to enhance the reputation of Alexander Hamilton than Broadus Mitchell. In the 1930s when the star of Hamilton's archrival, Thomas Jefferson, was in the ascendancy, Mitchell, anticipating the pro-Hamilton revival of the 1950s and 1960s, was one of the few scholars who defended Hamilton's claims to historical greatness. Some twenty-five years later this claim was convincingly set forth in a two-volume biography that pictured Hamilton as the farsighted nation maker whose fiscal policies assured the solvency of the Union. In the present volume, the first in Crowell's projected Leaders of the American Revolution series, Mitchell offers a more elaborate and detailed study of Hamilton's military career than was warranted in his balanced biography.

Professor Mitchell does not contend that Hamilton played a part of major importance during the Revolution. After all, his military service, unlike that of Nathanael Greene, Horatio Gates, or a host of other lesser generals, had no significant impact on the war; his political influence (exercised chiefly as an indefatigable letter writer to men in positions of influence) was minor compared to that of leading congressmen such as Henry Laurens and John Jay. Nevertheless, Hamilton's Revolutionary years, as Mitchell demonstrates, are significant as an essential backdrop to his subsequent accomplishments as statesman and financier. It was then that his ideas on government, society, and economics began to take shape. It was then that he established with George Washington that relationship of trust and esteem that was invaluable to his future career.

Hamilton was appointed aide-de-camp to Washington on March 1, 1777, and served until February 16, 1781, when, in a churlish display of pique at a minor reprimand by the general, he resigned. During these years he proved to be Washington's most capable and brilliant administrative assistant. His duties, Professor Mitchell writes, "extended to every sort of service, as Washington's assistant or proxy. Not only was he depended on at headquarters and as an aide conveying orders in battle, but the general charged him with missions, as much diplomatic as military, in which he had to use his own discretion." Hamilton's most notable service, however, was neither in diplomacy nor military operations. Just as "the commander in chief's battle was to summon ways and means, while being deferential to confused and often incapable civil authority," so Hamilton's major contribution "as aide and on his own initiative" was to assist in this effort. "In fact," Mitchell asserts, "he went beyond Washington in outlining and urging needed reforms." Enterprising and competent as Hamilton may have been, he nevertheless remained an aide-de-camp—a minor character rather than a star in the Revolutionary drama —and any account of his army career is meaningful only in the perspective of Washington's tribulations and accomplishments, strategy and tactics. It is thus understandable that Mitchell's military biography of Hamilton turns out to be, in large part, a military history of the American Revolution as seen from the vantage point of the commanding general's headquarters.

The subtitle of this volume—*The Revolutionary Years*—is somewhat misleading, for the last one-fourth of the book deals with Hamilton's career after the Revolution. One chapter is devoted to his service as a delegate to the Continental Congress, with particular emphasis on his role in the famous Newburgh affair. Another chapter focuses on his role in the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794, "this earliest overt instance," Mitchell writes, "of vindicating central constitutional power." The book's final two chapters describe the crisis in Franco-American relations that in 1798 developed into a quasi war and to Hamilton's appointment as inspector general of the army. Military preparedness, including augmentation of the

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army, remained a paper project, however, if only because support could not be won from the nation at large for mobilization of a land war that was never imminent. Hamilton may thus have misapplied his energy and talents; but, as Mitchell remarks, "to the degree that American military preparations helped to persuade France to abandon her hostility, a result which Hamilton all along wished, his work was not in vain."

That much of the information in this volume could be culled from Mitchell's two-volume biography of Hamilton does not detract from its merits. It is "definitive" in the sense that, nuances of interpretation aside, it will remain for the foreseeable future the indispensable guide to Hamilton's military career.

JACOB E. COOKE
Lafayette College

JOHN A. WILLIAMS, editor. *The Public Papers of Governor Thomas Chittenden.* (State Papers of Vermont, Volume 17.) Montpelier: Richard C. Thomas, Secretary of State. 1969. Pp. xxii, 1027.

Libraries that do not contain the *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont* (1873–1880), the Vermont Historical Society *Collections* (volumes 1, 2, 1870–71), and Slade's *Vermont State Papers* (1823), volumes that have long been out of print, now have an opportunity to obtain, conveniently arranged in chronological order, a modern printing in one volume of the most significant material yet compiled relating to the early history of Vermont, specifically for the years 1778 to 1797. To the documents previously available in the above-named works, the editor, John A. Williams, has added all of the additional items that he could find pertinent to his project in the manuscript collections of the Vermont Historical Society, the University of Vermont, the Library of Congress, and the Public Archives of Canada.

Mr. Williams does not uniformly make it clear whether he has relied for his text upon previous printings or whether he has gone to the original manuscripts; there are references to both. Nor does he differentiate clearly his own notes from those that have been taken verbatim from earlier works. It would have been helpful if he had explained in more detail the principles upon which he based his text and prepared his copy. The inconsistencies in the form of references, and the erratic use of italics for manuscripts, titles of printed books, names of authors, titles of documents, and the location of manuscripts cause unnecessary confusion that could have been prevented by a more careful selection of type. Finally, the more than a thousand pages of heavy, good quality paper are too much of a strain on the end papers and on the gauze reinforcement provided in the binding.

ROBERT E. MOODY
Boston University

JAMES WILLARD HURST. *The Legitimacy of the Business Corporation in the Law of the United States, 1780–1970.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1970. Pp. xiii, 191. $6.50.

The three essays that are the heart of this volume examine public policy concerning the American business corporation as it has developed since 1780. The focus is on the legitimacy of the corporation as reflected in laws affecting corporate utility and responsibility in a changing society. In this context Professor Hurst finds that American corporation law has been peculiarly the product of our own needs and experience.

Utility conferred its own legitimacy in a nation anxious to get on with economic development. Although sparingly used in the early national period, the corporate form was found to fit the needs first of public utilities and then of a constantly expanding spectrum of enterprises. Legislatures met the demand by shifting from special charters, which Professor Hurst shows were surprisingly uniform in their provisions, to general incorporation laws. Corporation law came to provide a legally defined bulwark for those in authority in the firm, with the corporation's advantages in mustering capital a secondary but significant utility. The roles of legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, as well as problems of federal-state relationships, are analyzed in relation to these developments.

Professor Hurst shows that the areas and nature of corporate responsibility, especially as the market system lost disciplinary force,

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have proved more troublesome to the law than corporate utility. The result has been imposition of *ad hoc* regulation from outside the corporation, exemplified by the SEC. Although a rough equilibrium of policy has been achieved in a pragmatic fashion, Professor Hurst sees need for further legislative response to corporate power.

As a stimulating, concise, and incisive survey of the development of public policy in relation to the American corporation, this book has obvious utility for the historian. Perhaps its greatest utility, however, is in its admirable demonstration that the study of institutions in a narrowly focused framework need neither exaggerate nor underestimate their social importance.

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
University of Maine, Orono

EVERETT DICK. *The Lure of the Land: A Social History of the Public Lands from the Articles of Confederation to the New Deal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 413. $9.50.

Of the Western historians active since 1930, Everett Dick, along with Thomas D. Clark and Philip D. Jordan, has been particularly interested in the social history of the westward movement. In this, his fifth book, Professor Dick is interested, he tells us, in the "human side" of the "process of land distribution . . . how the land-hungry pioneer interpreted the land laws, or ignored them; his success in 'handing up laws' to Congress by frontier usage when existing statutes were inadequate for his needs; his custom of illegally exploiting the natural resources; and the final end of exploitation and the coming of a policy of conservation." The narrative sweeps across our history from the precedents of the colonial period to the consolidation of the United States Land Office into the Bureau of Land Management in 1946. It describes the changing system of land disposal and ends with a chapter of interpretive summary in which Dick attributes many of the anomalies and shortcomings of American distribution procedures to a conflict of values between East and West concerning the proper uses of the nation's natural resources.

Dr. Dick writes with felicitous clarity, and his chapters reveal much evidence of work in local and original sources. He is clearly most interested in colorful, curious, or exciting incident—the squatter's farm that United States surveyors divide among four townships and six sections, the frantic dash of the timber cruiser to beat a rival to the land office, the ingenious perversions of land law, the odd judicial ruling, or the confrontation of "little fellows" with capitalists or corporations. The curious layman or college freshman will find this book an interesting, perhaps even fascinating, introduction both to the ways in which the title to a vast public domain passed from the federal government to its citizens and to the background of our current conservation problems and policies. The advanced student or specialist in land history may find Professor Dick's resolute progressivism rather predictable; he may be disturbed by Dick's failure to weigh the findings in various authoritative studies published during the last generation, and he may suspect that the emphasis of the book gives a distorted picture of the day-by-day operation of the land disposal system in the United States. Needless to say, Professor Dick's view of our land history is very different from the one that Douglass C. North and Robert W. Fogel have been developing in their recent work.

ALLAN G. BOGUE
University of Wisconsin, Madison

JAMES R. MORRILL. *The Practice and Politics of Fiat Finance: North Carolina in the Confederation, 1783–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. 240. $7.50.

Despite the author's criticism of the "critical period" concept—included somewhat incongruously in his conclusion—his book makes it clear that financial affairs in North Carolina during the Confederation period were critical, indeed. Lacking specie or the means of acquiring it, the state resorted to fiat methods of finance: unbacked paper money issues and the retirement of the huge wartime debt largely by methods of repudiation. Morrill candidly bases his interpretation on E. James Ferguson's thesis that fiat finance was a traditional, logical, and unavoidable system that was generally

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tolerated by the public. Nevertheless, he makes the point that wartime fiat policy had been "unusually burdensome," and holds that while North Carolinans were resigned to legal currency devaluation and retirement through taxation, "that resignation was accompanied by an unusual degree of disappointment and disillusionment." The book does not provide much insight into the direct economic consequences of repudiation, but they must have been great. It does show, however, that North Carolina was in reality far less prosperous during the period than it appeared to be.

Morrill's reconstruction of the details of fiat practice is excellent. He weaves his way through the incredibly tangled skein of state financial policy with clarity and skill. Dividing his book into two parts, he deals in part 1 with intrastate finance, considering in turn the retirement of the domestic currency and certificate debt, currency emissions, and the debt to Martinique—the last a neat little chapter that illustrates in smaller scale the critical nature of the larger problem. Part 2 deals with state-federal financial relations and includes chapters on the settlement of state and individual wartime accounts with Congress, the payment of the state's Continental Line, and the problem of a congressional revenue.

The author's treatment of the politics of fiat finance, on the other hand, is less satisfactory. Following Merrill Jensen and Ferguson, he holds that control of the public debt was the great prize contended for by Federalists and Antifederalists during the period, and he argues, perhaps correctly, that North Carolina's strong Antifederalism at the time of ratification was due largely to the fact that through fiat means the state had virtually liquidated its continental debt among its citizens and had reduced its state debt to relatively small proportions. The prospect of assumption therefore portended serious financial loss. The problem is that Morrill writes of the state's Federalists and Antifederalists in terms that are too general, never adequately identifying members of the two groups and too infrequently fortifying what he asserts to be their position with documented evidence. His treatment of speculators, to whom he attributes a sometimes important role in determining state fiscal policy, is subject to the same criticism.

These shortcomings aside, Morrill has produced a useful and well-written monograph on an important and demanding subject.

ROBERT L. GANYARD
State University of New York, Buffalo

JERALD A. COMBS. *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 254. $7.75.

In this broadly challenging study Jerald A. Combs argues that the much-analyzed party clash over the Jay Treaty of 1794–95, negotiated and ratified by the Federalists against bitter Republican opposition, was not so much determined by party politics or ideological predispositions as by each party's own distinctive view of national priorities and the power available for their attainment. "Party politics and ideology rarely superseded power considerations in the foreign policies of men like George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison," he contends; even though "the approaches of both sides were affected by considerations of ideology and partisan advantage," most commonly "their major considerations were to balance their goals with the power available to the United States." Unlike Madison and Jefferson, who placed great confidence in the weapons of trade discrimination, the Federalist leaders not only believed that Britain would never give up her West Indian shipping monopoly, but, forseeing the failure of commercial warfare as inevitable, strove mightily to defeat all efforts to enact discriminatory duties and navigation acts. Nor was the Jay Treaty itself the unnecessary appeasement of an adversary that by skillful diplomacy could have been brought to yield much more. Given Britain's determination to use her seapower against her French enemy, the agreement that failed to uphold our claimed rights to carry enemy produce and export food to France if nothing else postponed war between the two countries until 1812.

Mr. Combs's economical, well-researched book will take its place as a major statement of the view that depicts the Federalists and Republicans as rational calculators of na-

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tional means and ends. Although his differences with other historians of the Jay Treaty seem small on matters of detail, the total effect is a sharply etched portrait of the nation's leaders systematically pursuing preferred goals with tactics carefully accommodated to the nation's available power. His book will interest students of the period for other reasons as well. There are challenging interpretations of Hamilton, whose dream was to build a "heroic state" dominating the Western hemisphere and defying the world, and of Madison and Jefferson who more modestly yearned for national happiness within the framework of a "simple, republican, economically independent, agrarian nation." There are useful criticisms of Mr. Julian Boyd's contention that Hamilton unconscionably undermined presidential policy in the Nootka Sound crisis, and of Mr. Samuel Flagg Bemis' judgment that the United States went into the Jay Treaty negotiations with a strong bargaining hand.

A word of skepticism must be entered, however, about the book's major thesis. Mr. Combs is obviously not impressed with the importance of that marked strain of irrationality that historians like Marshall Smelser, John Howe, Jr., and others have detected in this first generation of party leaders. Those historians who, like myself, have been forcibly struck by the extraordinary anxieties and misunderstandings of this conspiracy-fearing age will find it difficult to accept wholeheartedly a thesis that puts such heavy weight on rationality and systematic calculation in the parties' respective foreign policies. Moreover, in arguing that the treaty's greatest service was to preserve peace with Britain, Mr. Combs does not show persuasively how war would have occurred if the agreement had not been ratified. Highly critical of the treaty when it first reached the United States in 1795, the Federalists only rallied to its support when the Republicans attacked it: was this the conduct of men who had long been committed to even an unfavorable agreement with England as the only way to preserve peace? Is it not possible that the battle over the Jay Treaty was less firmly founded on rational processes than this tightly argued monograph would allow, and that its major impulses were more deeply rooted in the perceptions and reactions of the party adversaries as they carried on their bitter struggle?

ROGER H. BROWN
American University

JULIUS GOEBEL, JR., editor. *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton: Documents and Commentary*. Associate editors, WINNIFRED BOWERS *et al.* Volume 2. (Published under the auspices of the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 957. $30.00.

This second volume of Hamilton's legal papers is quite possibly even better than the first. As in the first volume, much valuable background information is given to aid the reader. Introductory chapters on the role of counsel and the economy in New York between 1783 and 1800 are excellent, as are many of the introductions to the documents, which are organized in three separate sections. The papers contained in this volume pertain to commercial transactions, maritime affairs, and admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. Most of them date from the time Hamilton left the Treasury Department to his death.

The section on maritime affairs, supervised by a new staff member, David A. Nourse, is the best in the volume and should be of broader interest than both the section given to commercial transactions (contracts, bills and notes, creditor's rights, and extrajudicial settlement of disputes) and the one dealing with admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, although there is much to recommend parts of these sections. Apparently, more information in the form of background material and extant records was available dealing with maritime affairs, and that part is organized in a fashion lending itself to an easier understanding of the complex area of marine insurance that dominates the section. The admiralty and maritime jurisdiction documents, on the other hand, deal almost exclusively with procedure, but they tell much about commercial activity during a difficult time for the United States on the high seas.

The commentaries in this volume are unmistakably written by lawyers. For the most part they are unusually readable and based on exhaustive research. Most of the introductory

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notes are very well conceived and represent the kind of editorial management of legal papers that is worthy of emulation. Professor Goebel's direction of the project has produced, I am pleased to note, much more than a study of the law practice of Alexander Hamilton. The areas of New York legal history dealt with will not require redoing. When the third volume is completed, the set will provide a basis for learning much more about a part of Hamilton's life never adequately covered.

The only really bad thing about this book that should be noted is its price, two-thirds more than the first volume. Thirty dollars is more than most individuals will pay for such a work, and thus it will be bought primarily by libraries. I hope that this will not deter any historian from spending some time with it, for he is sure to reap reward from whatever form of investment he agrees to make.

CHARLES T. CULLEN
Institute of Early American History and Culture

VICTOR A. SAPIO. *Pennsylvania & the War of 1812*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. x, 206. $7.95.

"The causes of the War of 1812 have produced a historiographic controversy far out of proportion to the war's military importance," and this book discusses in detail the interpretations that have most frequently been advanced. Contemporary observers emphasized the desire of the United States to protect its maritime commerce and the rights of neutrals. These explanations, however, have never been entirely satisfactory, for the war was supported with enthusiasm in the South and West and bitterly opposed in New England, the commercial center of the nation.

Other reasons for the entry of the United States included "land hunger, fear of a British-supported Indian uprising, economic depression, and an exuberance of youthful patriotism," yet these interpretations, convincing as they might be, did not exhaust the possibilities. Sapio points out that American pride was hurt more than American interests by the policies of the British government, and the politicians who voted for the war were influenced by the necessity to defend republicanism (with both a small and a large R) from humiliation.

A neglected key to an understanding of American participation (this is Sapio's thesis) was the role of Pennsylvania, which provided more congressional votes in support of Republican measures than any other state and which made possible the re-election of President Madison in 1812. The embargo and the war both benefited Pennsylvania by encouraging the growth of domestic manufacturers, and the sixteen votes this state provided for the declaration of war constituted not only the largest single bloc in Congress but the highest percentage of support for the government in any of the larger delegations.

The tone of the book is patriotic—it is "straight" history of the sort that indicates that the state was to be congratulated because "the people of Pennsylvania supported the war effort as staunchly as they had supported the declaration of war and opposed every effort to end the war before a military victory [*sic*] had been won." It is an academic exercise designed to be read by members of the profession, summarizing the writings of the past and following them too closely.

JOHN M. COLEMAN
Lafayette College

ED BEARSS and ARRELL M. GIBSON. *Fort Smith: Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1969. Pp. 349. $6.95.

The story of the forts built in the early years of the nineteenth century to guard the Western frontiers of America is an intriguing chapter in our national history, and that of Fort Smith is pretty much the prototype for all of them. The Louisiana Purchase opened a new phase in our national development. Its vastness and the barrenness of its Great Plains made it look like an unlikely place for white men to settle, and it seemed logical that the Indians living east of the Mississippi should be moved to this great land of the West.

The transfer of the Five Civilized Tribes began soon after the War of 1812, when some bands of the Cherokees were moved to present-day Oklahoma. But the Osage Indians objected

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to this encroachment upon their lands, and a bloody Indian War was the result. To preserve the peace, Fort Smith was established in 1817 on the border of present-day Arkansas. Soon it became advisable, however, to erect a fortification deeper in the Indian country, and in 1824 Fort Smith was abandoned. When the Choctaws were moved to the Oklahoma country in the 1830s, the post was reactivated.

The original post was built of logs, but under political pressure a stone and masonry structure was begun in 1838. By the time it was completed in 1846 the purpose for which it had been built was no longer pertinent, and thereafter, with the exception of a brief participation in the Civil War, it served mainly as a supply base for the military posts deeper in the Indian country. In 1871 the post became the home of the Federal Court of the Western District of Arkansas, and under the jurisdiction of the notorious Judge William Story gained a reputation as a "hanging court." When the Federal Court was removed in 1896, most of the Fort Smith property was liquidated. In 1961 Congress designated the post as a National Historic Site, and reconstruction of the post began. The emphasis in the reconstruction program has been on that period when the fort housed the Federal Court.

The story of Fort Smith is important in understanding the history of the Western frontier. It was the southern anchor of a chain of forts for which Fort Snelling in Minnesota was the northern tie. In a remarkable way, the evolution of the two posts followed the same path, and each today is being restored to remind America of the day when the nation was young and enduring the pains of rapid growth.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN
University of Minnesota, Duluth

HOWARD S. MILLER. *Dollars for Research: Science and Its Patrons in Nineteenth-Century America.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 258. $9.50.

Judged as the specialized monograph, which its format and vestiges of a dissertation mode indicate, Mr. Miller's *Dollars for Research* is a piece of competent scholarship and a worthy contribution to knowledge. He brings together in a clear pattern much material that has been scattered through the slowly growing literature of the history of American science and many manuscript repositories.

Beginning with the Smithson bequest of the 1830s and ending with the founding of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1902, Miller performs the difficult task of matching thumbnail sketches of the principal scientists of the nineteenth century with their benefactors, a mixed lot who mirror much of American social history. Lacking an administrative class in the private institutions of the day, the scientists had to be their own entrepreneurs with few university presidents or foundation executives to help them. Contrary to widely held myths about the smallness of scientific enterprise and the indifference to science of people of wealth between 1830 and 1900, the scientists often operated on a scale that required large financing—in astronomy and paleontology as especially good examples. The nineteenth century produced a number of notable donors who were willing to listen to the arguments for pure science. Some were as self-effacing and foresighted as Elizabeth Thompson; others were as eccentric, though not often as wealthy, as James Lick. Miller has put these disparate personal and institutional stories together into a general pattern for the support of science in the nineteenth century.

The above appraisal, while eminently respectable and also as accurate as I could make it, is in its implication entirely inadequate. The place of science in American culture is a central theme in the history of the United States, not a peripheral one. Miller's book examines the essential transactions between scientists and the general society that makes the central theme understandable. Now that the chimera of endowment has disappeared and scientists have been forced again into the role of entrepreneurs, we can see in the nineteenth century earlier forms of the institutions and cultural processes with which we now struggle. The instability as well as the flexibility and creativeness of private support is still with us as the great foundations and the federal government have each had their turn in the patron's role. The meaning of American democracy is tied up in the choices made for

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the support of science. General historians—radical or consensus—who ignore this book and its theme are missing something fundamental.

A. HUNTER DUPREE
Brown University

RICHARD L. HERRNSTADT, editor. *The Letters of A. Bronson Alcott*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1969. Pp. xxxvii, 846. $19.50.

All of the extant letters of Amos Bronson Alcott have been here collected and arranged in chronological order in a single, large volume. Excisions, corrections, and misspellings are meticulously noted, and brief identifying notes and explanatory comments are supplied by the editor. There is an index of correspondents and a general index—not exhaustive, however—of persons, publications, and organizations mentioned in the letters. Unfortunately, there is no topical index. It would have been helpful to users to know, for instance, which letters provide the most detailed exposition of Alcott's educational theories. But in general Professor Herrnstadt has adhered to the most rigorous modern standards of editorial scholarship.

Bronson Alcott is known best for his educational theories and practices in the 1830s, for his association with the Concord Transcendentalists, and for his abortive experiment in communal living at Fruitlands. Less is known of his later career, after the Civil War, when he became closely identified with William Torrey Harris and the St. Louis Hegelians, an affiliation that led to the organization of the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. Although the bulk of his surviving correspondence falls in the later period, it does not change my own view that Alcott's earlier activities remain the more interesting and important.

Alcott's pedagogical radicalism, derived from Pestalozzi, seems to have consisted in the cultivation of the moral and intellectual faculties of small children through the discussion of such classics as Milton, Bunyan, Spenser, and Wordsworth. When timid parents indicated their preference for more conventional methods by withdrawing the pupils, Alcott appropriately transferred his educational endeavors to the adults, going about the country holding "conversations" on various edifying topics. Much of his correspondence consists of letters to the family written while on circuit. For many years the arrangements for his speaking engagements were made from day to day, and Alcott often did not know where he would be on the morrow. As a communitarian, a vegetarian and food fadist, an advocate of women's rights, a spiritualist, and a homeopath, Alcott was distinctively a man for this season. It is surprising that with such resources his correspondence is not of greater interest.

Although this compilation will be a great convenience to specialists on Alcott as well as to students of American Transcendentalism, the general reader will find that too often there are brief allusions to matters that are not again taken up or amplified in rewarding detail. Unlike the carefully chosen excerpts from Alcott's journals published some years ago by Odell Shepard, the letters are not particularly rewarding when read by themselves. This may be a function of Alcott's peculiarities of character. He was content to live in abject poverty until past sixty (when his daughter Louisa's royalties came to the rescue), subsisting on occasional small fees from his conversations and on the charity of friends. It is remarkable that such a stubborn deviance from the norms of a pecuniary society did not sour or dampen the sunny simplicity of his character. But by the same token he sacrificed the trenchant criticisms and the cries of rage or anguish that would have seasoned his writings. Thus, for instance, his letters dwell in some detail on hopeful plans for the commune at Fruitlands, but there is not a word of the failure.

STOW PERSONS
University of Iowa

PORTER A. STRATTON. *The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834–1912*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1969. Pp. vi, 306. $15.00.

This book, a copiously documented study, unfortunately reads like the dissertation that it is. The author is to be commended, however, for his painstaking research in frontier journalism and for his inclusion in the appendix of an extensive checklist of newspapers in the New Mexico Territory. Such information will

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doubtless be useful to some antiquarians and perhaps to a few professional historians, but it will hardly prove as "absorbing to any reader of Western lore" as the jacket blurb proclaims.

Journalism came to New Mexico rather late, not a surprising fact in view of the region's isolated location and the poverty and illiteracy of its population. No newspapers operated during the period of Spanish rule (1598–1821), and only three made their appearance under Mexican dominance (1821–46). But by 1912 at least 732 newspapers had been established, many of which survived for only one or two issues. The first three chapters of Stratton's work concentrate upon the most important of these territorial presses and their relationship to local economic, political, and cultural developments. The remaining five chapters relate to what the author refers to as "the contribution of the journalists in converting the wild and backward frontier of 1848 into the placid but progressive state of New Mexico of 1912."

I read the section concerning violence in New Mexico with considerable interest, primarily because of personal research on the particular subject. One would think that in the absence of other news, sensational acts of violence would receive extensive coverage. Yet, the author maintains, crimes were so common that many frontier editors did not bother to report them—even lynchings that occurred within sight of their offices. Robert Dykstra, interestingly enough, reached a somewhat similar conclusion from his extensive research in the newspaper files of Kansas cowtowns (*The Cattle Towns* [1968]).

Although God forbid that anyone should emulate Spiro Agnew's style, Professor Stratton could have profited by more frequent reference to *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms*. Also, the constant repetition on particular pages of such adjectives and adverbs as "this" and "these" makes an otherwise unimaginative narrative sound even more pedestrian.

W. EUGENE HOLLON
University of Toledo

KENNETH W. WHEELER. *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836–1865*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. 222. $6.95.

The thesis of this comparative study of the rise of San Antonio, Galveston, Houston, and Austin between 1836 and 1865 is that cities often antedated agricultural settlement and, although small in size, became the focal points for the development of their regions. The concept of the urban frontier has become a familiar theme, usually modeled on Richard Wade's seminal study of the early Ohio Valley cities.

In terms of descriptive social history, Wheeler has effectively pictured the unique quality of each city's character. European-oriented Galveston put a greater emphasis on culture than did other Texas cities. While it had certain geographical advantages, the domination of a merchant elite unwilling to take risks eventually led to stagnation. Houston was more progressive, with wealth more evenly distributed. In order to compete successfully for the trade in cotton and sugar, Houston energetically improved its water and rail connections. San Antonio was the oldest and poorest of the four cities. Its population, predominantly Mexican, slowly became Americanized, but the city maintained its cosmopolitan, picturesque features. Prior to the cattle boom of the 1860s, San Antonio relied primarily on Mexican trade for its economic existence. Austin, an artificial city housing the state's political system, had little concern for commercial growth.

Wheeler's comparative approach puts each city into the kind of perspective not possible in studies of single communities. Similarities and differences become apparent, necessitating explanations for both. The value of this approach, however, would have been greatly increased if Wheeler had broadened his comparisons to include the urban frontier in other areas.

Wheeler has drawn upon a basic list of sources useful for local history, especially municipal records, newspapers, and travelers' accounts. By the standards of an earlier generation of urban historians, the results are impressive. In terms of the new urban history, however, many basic questions remain, particularly concerning the nature of the process of urbanization in early Texas. Many urban historians are asking questions and employing methods of analysis that have resulted in

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some basically new insights into the social dimensions of American urbanization. The works of Dykstra on internal conflict in the Kansas cowtowns, of Barth on the characteristics of the elite in San Francisco and Denver, of Thernstrom on social mobility of laborers in Newburyport, and of Warner on the relationship between changing technology and residential patterns in Boston are only a few examples. This is not meant to downgrade Wheeler's work, for his emphasis is a major advance over the traditional approach to frontier history. Rather, it is to suggest that historians of the urban frontier could broaden the significance of their work by using the methodology developed by social scientists.

GILBERT A. STELTER
Laurentian University

PAUL KLEPPNER. *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900.* New York: Free Press. 1970. Pp. x, 402. $9.00.

Paul Kleppner has written a provocative book that is both an examination of Midwestern voting behavior in the Gilded Age and a manifesto for the newer methods of political history. Concentrating on the states of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, he argues that religious and ethnocultural allegiance rather than economic or class affiliation determined electoral results. A full array of quantifying techniques buttress conclusions about "the group bases of politics," help explain how the political stalemate of the 1880s became the Republican dominance of the mid-1890s, and enable Kleppner to construct an interesting interpretation of the election of 1896. His close scrutiny of the ethnic appeals of McKinley and Bryan suggests that more work can still be done on the most studied of the presidential contests.

This book also demonstrates the complexity and subtlety of the American political environment between 1865 and 1900. Kleppner brushes aside old stereotypes about corrupt politics and corporate influence and shows that voters made decisions on the basis of rational perceptions of issues relevant to their immediate experience. Politicians wooed constituencies that were more intricate and complicated than historians have realized. The patient work that Kleppner has done underscores the need for intensive research in state politics in this period. His observations on Ohio and Wisconsin, for instance, should prompt a fresh appraisal of such important figures as Joseph B. Foraker and Robert La Follette.

On the other hand, the author sometimes assumes that all states in the Midwest were essentially identical, and he plays down the influence of the federal system on local affairs. His content analysis of the tariff in the early 1890s seems more an effort to explain away the issue than to measure its potency. And if it is "unlikely" that voters "perceived the ways in which" national policies affected their daily lives, Kleppner does not disclose why politicians continued to emphasize these issues.

The author's research and analysis are excellent. His prose is not, however, and clumsy passages and stylistic lapses may deter prospective readers. Names of obscure leaders and counties clutter the pages and slow the narrative. The absence of maps is unfortunate. An earnest, didactic tone, symbolized by the excessive use of italics, often slips into monotonous jargon. But students of the Gilded Age and of American politics generally should overlook the awkward writing and pay close attention to the important contributions of Kleppner's work.

LEWIS L. GOULD
University of Texas, Austin

SISTER MARY KARL GEORGE, R.S.M. *Zachariah Chandler: A Political Biography.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 301. $8.50.

There is an odd quality to this volume, for as aggressive and brash as this Republican senator from Michigan was, so timid and cautious is his biographer. Sister Mary Karl George clearly and ably recounts the high points of Chandler's political career. She has read diligently in Chandler's papers and those of his friends, and she writes lucidly. But she skirts the basic issue of how we are to understand Chandler or his times.

Chandler entered politics in the 1850s, having first made a small fortune in trade and investments. Putting his organizational skills, his strong opposition to the extension of slavery, and some of his funds at the service of the

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new Republican party, he rose quickly through its ranks. He was senator from Michigan from 1857 to 1875, and for two years served as Grant's secretary of the interior. His career, as this account substantiates, was surrounded by controversy. One of Chandler's first important political acts was to do what he could to prevent any last-minute compromise with the seceding states; as an active member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he was convinced that an aggressive military policy would quickly end the war, and accordingly found constant fault with Lincoln and his generals. He was one of the few senators prepared to starve Confederates in Northern prisons to retaliate for the treatment of Union soldiers in the South. Throughout his life, he found no charge or language too strong to level at the Democratic opposition, and he was convinced that Confederates had forfeited all their rights. A fierce critic of Andrew Johnson, he was an intimate friend and supporter of President Grant. All the while he was a fiscal conservative, a leader of the hard-money camp.

Although the controversies surrounding Chandler in particular and Radical Republicans in general are intense and complex, Sister Mary Karl George is reluctant to enter them. One wonders what she thinks of this man after her years of research. Were his instincts, as Gideon Welles contended, "low and debasing, always"? Was he, as one newspaper charged, part of a clique that was the most "reckless and unscrupulous set of fanatics and agitators" ever to sit in Congress? Or was he, as some of his letters suggest, a fanatic perhaps, but one with noble instincts? One wonders also about the nature and extent of Chandler's support in Michigan. His biographer includes details on the backroom politics behind his senate elections, but does not explore the popular base of his strength as a politician or further our knowledge about the relationship between national patronage and state machines. And, finally, one wonders about the popular and institutional position of Chandler and his supporters in Washington. Sister Mary Karl George believes that they dominated moderate Republicans for at least a decade but is not able to tell us why. A study of a figure as important and interesting as Chandler might have offered us many clues to the motives and power of stalwart and Radical Republicans. This volume, however, is more of an outline than a penetrating analysis of a man's career and period. It is incomplete both as biography and history.

DAVID J. ROTHMAN
Columbia University

HUGH GEORGE ANDERSON. *Lutheranism in the Southeastern States, 1860–1886: A Social History.* (Studies in American History, Number 10.) The Hague: Mouton. 1969. Pp. 276. 40 gls.

This monograph is a history of Lutheranism in the states south of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Mississippi River, beginning just prior to the Civil War and culminating in the establishment of the United Synod of the South in 1886.

The author depicts briefly the movement of German Lutherans into the South and the gradual progress toward ecclesiastical organization in union with the General Synod North. In spite of various attempts to do so this fragile unity could not be maintained during the Civil War, and sectionalism triumphed. Anderson characterizes the individual synods, analyzes the effects of the war on congregational and synodical life, and describes the cooperative efforts of Southern Lutherans to form their own general body, noting that, with the exception of the separatist Tennessee and Holston synods, "where on the political side southern Lutherans wanted 'States' Rights,' on the ecclesiastical side they voted for a controlling power." The last four chapters illustrate in topical fashion the life of Southern Lutherans during the two decades immediately following the Civil War, concluding that the churches made real advances on the local level even though the general synodical work of Lutherans did not show much progress. The author includes portrayals of developing Lutheran worship, the varieties of church architecture, the role of laymen, and the life of the pastors. He concludes his work with a discussion of the gradual growth of the General Synod, which climaxed in the formation of a general body to include all of the Southern synods. In general, he pictures a church characterized by great diversity moving inexorably toward a specifically Lutheran identity.

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In his efforts to write a "social history" the author's approach issues in a concern for the life of individual Lutherans rather than in the "structural" or "external history of Lutheranism as a denomination." The book is well documented and has more than adequate bibliography, footnotes, and index. The author has read and quoted widely the minutes of the individual synods, which is both strength and weakness. Occasionally the concern for encyclopedic detail becomes tedious. The analysis of Southern Lutheranism as a whole is forced into a secondary role.

Except for the war and Reconstruction the story of Southern Lutherans takes place in a vacuum; it would be helpful to place it within its historical context. Certain questions could well be raised. What contributions to Southern history, society, and politics did Lutherans make? A financial crisis is mentioned briefly, but what was the nature of this crisis? Given the fact that Lutherans primarily were farmers, where did they stand in the face of the one-crop system that developed after the war? Other than encouraging immigration, what did Lutherans do to help the farmer improve his lot? Where did Lutherans stand on Negro suffrage? Nor is there any mention, for example, of the disputed election of 1876. These and other questions could be raised by the author.

In conclusion, however, the book does provide for the scholar or serious student a wealth of material on Southern Lutherans and is a welcome contribution to the field of sectional religious histories.

H. WAYNE PIPKIN
Baylor University

JAMES R. WILBURN. *The Hazard of the Die: Tolbert Fanning and the Restoration Movement.* Austin: Sweet Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. x, 12–288. $4.95.

Tolbert Fanning was an important Southern preacher in the nineteenth-century restoration movement led by Alexander Campbell. When he died in 1874 he had spent four and a half decades as an editor, educator, and evangelist among the Disciples of Christ in the South. In addition, Fanning was a successful businessman and agricultural reformer; he was a widely respected citizen in middle Tennessee. But his lasting influence stems from his work as mentor and molder of a generation of young Southern preachers who formed the vanguard of religious conservatism in the Disciples of Christ in the last half of the nineteenth century. When the Churches of Christ emerged as an independent group early in the twentieth century, it was led by a coterie of Fanning protégés —David Lipscomb, William Lipscomb, and Elisha G. Sewell.

Professor Wilburn traces Fanning's influence on the doctrinal issues that ultimately led to division within the Disciples. His discussion of Fanning's changing thought on church organization is a good analysis of this crucial question. In fact, the book is basically a simple study of Fanning's religious thought as revealed in his rather extensive published writings. Professor Wilburn has researched this subject diligently; he has produced a readable and useful narrative that will be welcomed by Disciples scholars.

The chief limitations of the book are those imposed by the subject. The thought of Tolbert Fanning will be of little interest to those not directly concerned with Disciples history. But the most important weakness of the book stems from the lack of primary materials on Fanning. No collection of Fanning material exists; as a result, Professor Wilburn tells little about Fanning the man or the personal struggles of a religious leader in the nineteenth century. The author has done the best he could within these limitations; the result is one of perhaps five books about the nineteenth-century origins of the Churches of Christ that is worthy of serious reading.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR.
University of Alabama, Birmingham

JOHN Y. SIMON, editor. *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant.* Volume 2, *April–September 1861.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1969. Pp. xxxiii, 399. $15.00.

Every library that receives this journal should add this splendid volume to its collection. For here, in the hero's own words, are the beginnings of a military Horatio Alger story. In bare outline the story covered in these letters seems commonplace enough. It happened dozens of times during the Civil War. A patriotic man

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offers his services to his government, after a time becomes the colonel of a regiment, and finally is given an important territorial command. The state is Illinois, but it might just as well have been Iowa, Indiana, or Vermont, or, for that matter, South Carolina, Mississippi, or Virginia. But, present-minded as it sounds, the intriguing thing here is that the reader knows the writer of these letters will rise above the madding military crowd, will eventually break through the military logjam and become the supreme commander of the Union armies, and, even later, will twice be elected president of the United States. Every word Grant utters and every move he makes—his constant references to his children, his ceaseless complaints about money, his mourning for his dead brother, his minor orders to his regiment, his appointment of Captain John A. Rawlins as his aide—thus become overwhelmingly fascinating. Here, then, in chatty letters filled with misspelled words and addressed to his wife, to his father, and to his sister and in reports to his military superiors and subordinates is the opening chapter of "The Making of the President, 1868."

It is indeed an intriguing story, and the Ulysses S. Grant Association, the editors of the volume, and the Southern Illinois University Press—all of which contributed to its telling—have given it to us in a form worthy of the noble and inspiring man with whom they deal. The Grant Association put up the money for the book; the editors have collected and arranged the material and have explained it in footnotes that follow each letter; and the publisher has produced a volume that will beautify any bookshelf. A great general and a much misunderstood and cruelly maligned president, Ulysses S. Grant is now having his say.

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON
Queens College,
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JAY J. WAGONER. *Arizona Territory, 1863–1912: A Political History.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 587. $12.00.

Arizona Territory, 1863–1912 is correctly subtitled "A Political History," but it is political history narrowly conceived. Chapters are allotted to the territory's seventeen gubernatorial administrations, with four additional chapters on the Civil War in the Southwest, political parties and elections, the Indian wars of the 1870s, and the Arizona Rangers. Each of the latter four chapters has its defects: the political developments would be better covered in conjunction with the appropriate administrations; the Indian chapter stops abruptly in the 1870s even though the Indian wars did not; and disproportionate attention is devoted to the Civil War and the Arizona Rangers, although both deserve a place in the book.

The episodic treatment of the successive administrations results in a number of inadequacies. Each of the governors receives roughly equal coverage although some were more important to the history of the territory than others. There is a strong tendency to focus narrowly on each administration as a separate entity, thus losing sight of themes that cut across several decades. There is considerable repetition, but little insight into such major themes as Indian policy, mining law, and railroad grants. This is also true for certain specific incidents; for example, the Wham payroll robbery, an event with important political consequences, is discussed in four separate places, but the issues involved are never precisely identified or clarified. The maneuvering that resulted in the multiplication of the original four counties into fourteen and the question of control of military policy are other issues adumbrated but not developed.

The book is most noteworthy for the information it provides on the sixteen territorial governors, one of whom served two separate terms. Mr. Wagoner has made good use of the territorial appointment papers and other records in the National Archives in order to describe the rationale for appointments, the governors' activities in office, and their subsequent careers. Mr. Wagoner's evidence on these points supports those historians who have argued that territorial governors were often either incompetent or corrupt carpetbaggers who served a short term in office. The primary criteria for Arizona appointments were either political or personal. Some governors, including Alexander Brodie, Theodore Roosevelt's fellow Rough Rider, were competent and conscientious, but most, among them John Charles Frémont, were political disasters. Mr. Wagoner

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presents an impression of a territory beset with problems and with administrations that were either incapable or preferred to expend energy to keep political fences mended. The real political power in Arizona rested in the hands of economic leaders or with the federal government. The power of these forces is not a major concern of the author, although it should be, even in a political history.

Arizona Territory is not good history, but will prove useful as a source of information for future historians of Arizona or the Southwest.

KENT RICHARDS
Central Washington State College

HOWARD A. WHITE. *The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1970. Pp. 227. $7.50.

Ex-slaves in 1865 faced enormous problems including the often overwhelming matter of destitution. This closely focused study of the Freedmen's Bureau never loses sight of this fact, and Professor White concludes that the crucial test of the agency was met with its "pioneering, wise, and beneficial" performance of its welfare function.

The book adds impressive evidence to the case now generally made that the Bureau stands acquitted of old charges of vengeful motives and malicious practices, but it does not put the Bureau to the test to which the freedmen themselves would have put it. And the test involves the matter of the blacks' readiness for freedom, a probability Mr. White, like most writers of Reconstruction history, holds in doubt. With a leadership class unique in the South, the freedmen of Louisiana may have been more ready than Professor White suggests when he salutes the Bureau for its ability to "plant the concept of freedom and dignity in the hearts of a freed people." His own evidence suggests that it was already there. After all, it was the black New Orleans *Tribune* that taught Assistant Commissioner Thomas Conway that freedom meant the power of the ballot and of the pocketbook right in Louisiana rather than exportation to Africa, and not the other way around. Although White is correct in citing the lack of financial support from Congress as a major reason why the Bureau did not reap a harvest of success for the freedmen, he does not explore the possibility, fully documented in his work, that the Bureau itself contributed to the destruction of their hopes. If the agency could offer badly needed welfare services it could also be used as an effective tool for keeping the freedmen in their place as a landless subservient labor force.

A humane spirit with respect to racial matters is reflected throughout the book, and its most compelling chapter discusses medical treatment for the freedmen. This is an area of Bureau activity of larger scope than most studies have suggested—indeed the only twentieth-century vestige of this nineteenth-century federal effort to serve the needs of a dependent people is the annual appropriation for the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington. White's attention to detail should point the way for other such state studies. It would be interesting, for example, to compare Virginia to Louisiana and see what the former's assistant comissioner, Dr. Orlando Brown, prescribed in the way of hospitals and treatment.

WILLIAM S. MCFEELY
Mount Holyoke College

WILLIAM LYNWOOD MONTELL. *The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1970. Pp. xxi, 231. $8.95.

The Saga of Coe Ridge is a handsomely illustrated study of a small, isolated black community in the mountains of central Kentucky, which was established after the Civil War by the ex-slaves of a Cumberland Valley planter. Lacking written records—even the county courthouse had been burned—the author has written an account based almost entirely on oral tradition, eked out by data in local histories and manuscript census returns. Interviewing both black survivors of the now extinct community and older white residents of the area, Professor Montell has produced a convincing historical sketch of this community.

The author is at his best in describing the technology of log-cabin construction, the deadly feuds with the community's white neighbors at the turn of the century, the economic evolution of Coetown from logging and subsistence farming to moonshining, and its destruction

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by revenue agents after the Second World War. On the other hand we are told little, and nothing systematic, about such matters as diet, food preparation, farming methods, and religion—subjects the folklorist should surely be able to illuminate. Again, there is a good deal of factual material about contacts with specific whites, but no real analysis of the system of race relations. Many historians may find the genealogical data and the presentation of variant oral accounts of the same events tedious. Although this particular volume will be of interest mainly to folklorists and specialists in local history, it demonstrates convincingly that, given a paucity or lack of other sources, generations-old oral tradition, carefully and intelligently employed, can often be a most useful tool in the reconstruction of the past.

AUGUST MEIER
Kent State University

RICHARD O. CURRY, editor. *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 331. $10.00.

The border slave states have hardly had a place in the story of Reconstruction as it has heretofore been presented. The general histories either ignore them or give them only passing mention. And it may be suspected that teachers of Reconstruction courses follow a similar procedure. The reasons for the neglect are understandable. Four of the states usually classified in the border group did not secede: Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri; and a fifth, West Virginia, came into being during the Civil War under federal sponsorship. Consequently these states did not experience the impact of congressional Reconstruction, and to historians they have seemed to be outside the Reconstruction process. State studies of the process on the border have been pitifully few.

Now this traditional view has been challenged, as other views of the period have been challenged in recent years. Editor Richard O. Curry and the contributors he has enlisted in this volume of essays ask us to give attention to the border states. Curry, indeed, goes farther. In his introduction he declares: "Present conceptions of the Reconstruction process must be broadened to include intensive studies of *internal* politics in both northern and border states." These states, rather than Washington or the South, were the "crucial battlegrounds" where "the future course of American history" was determined. Moreover, in studying these states, "it is necessary to investigate in greater depth the continuities that exist between antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction politics. A comprehensive treatment of Reconstruction politics must first come to terms with the nature of Civil War struggles in the North."

Curry's clarion call has a degree of exaggeration in it, as calls for new approaches are likely to have. But he is on solid ground in insisting that the border states should be studied as a part of the Reconstruction story. To launch such a study he has assembled a group of able collaborators. Six of the essays deal with Reconstruction in specific states, the five listed above and Tennessee. The latter is included because, as Curry explains, "her readmission to the Union in 1866 created a political situation that conforms to border state patterns."

The state studies and their authors are as follows: Missouri by William E. Parrish, Tennessee by Thomas B. Alexander, West Virginia by Curry, Kentucky by Ross A. Webb, Maryland by Charles L. Wagandt, and Delaware by Harold B. Hancock. These essays focus on political developments in the states but give due attention to economic, social, and racial aspects of the time. Other essays are by Jacqueline Balk and Ari Hoogenboom on the origins of border state Liberal Republicanism, by W. A. Low on the Freedmen's Bureau in the border states, and William Gillette on federal enforcement of voting rights in these states. The essays are based partly on previous research by their authors and partly on new research. They are of even and good quality and are well worth reading even by specialists.

The book has, however, to be read to be appreciated. Its quality is difficult to convey in a review. Written by various authors and dealing with a variety of subjects, it naturally lacks a theme. Another reason for the absence of unity is the necessary state-by-state approach. Political developments in the border states did not follow a consistent pattern. Thus during the first years of Reconstruction, Republicans were in control of the governments in Missouri, Tennessee, and West Virginia. In Maryland,

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Henry Winter Davis' Union party, which included some Republicans, dominated at first. In Kentucky and Delaware the Democrats ruled throughout the period, and of course in the end this party took over in all the states. Extreme bitterness marked border politics. The Republicans enacted, or sought to enact, proscription laws that disfranchised former Confederates, that is, Democrats. Democrats resorted to terrorism to intimidate Negro Republicans and keep them from voting.

Contradictions also characterize the social legislation of the states. Education for Negroes was provided, but in segregated schools. The greatest stimulus to black education came from the Freedmen's Bureau. Negro suffrage was pushed by some Republicans but, in the words of Balk and Hoogenboom, primarily as "a weapon, not a cause." Because the border states were the first to overthrow Republican rule, they were, as Gillette puts it, the first to "embrace reactionary redemption." But Gillette also contends that during the 1890s, when the status of the Negro in the rest of the South was being harshly defined, the border states returned to moderation and made some progress in race relations.

The book is a contribution to Reconstruction literature and should stimulate additional research by students of the period.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS
Louisiana State University

LOUISE R. NOUN. *Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa.* [Ames:] Iowa State University Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 322. $8.75.

"Whatever happened to our history?" ask the modern advocates of women's emancipation. Recent publications treating the struggle for equal rights have begun to answer that question with respect to one phase of women's changing status. The volume under review is the first contemporary study of the woman suffrage movement in Iowa. Unfortunately, for all its good intentions, it falls short of being a worthy model for women's history.

The narrative centers on the years from 1866 to 1872 when suffrage became a major public issue in Iowa. Sharing the opinion of many Americans that they were the principal guardians of respectable culture, numerous Iowa women organized societies dedicated to moral and intellectual uplift, temperance, and suffrage. The adoption of Negro suffrage in the state in 1868 encouraged women leaders to believe that their right to vote would be readily attained. But woman suffrage made little headway against mounting, often derisive opposition, and the effort to push a suffrage amendment through the state senate failed narrowly in 1872. Iowa's women were not enfranchised until ratification of the federal amendment in 1920.

During these formative years a group of vigorous local and state suffrage leaders emerged as lecturers and organizers. Like advocates elsewhere, they tended to be well educated and well fixed, both socially and financially. Their efforts were enhanced by recurrent visits from distinguished Eastern suffragists. The supporters of suffrage in Iowa were not strong minded enough, however, to avoid the clashes that split the Eastern suffrage movement. The controversy surrounding Victoria Woodhull and the "free love" issue seemed especially volatile and, according to the author, may have influenced the suffrage defeat in 1872. A final superficial chapter, treating the career of Carrie Chapman Catt, shifts the book's focus awkwardly.

There are a number of weaknesses in this study that detract from its usefulness. The narrative itself is episodic and jagged, cluttered with minute details about meetings and other events, and interrupted frequently by biographical digressions. The emphasis is on description rather than analysis, and the author accepts too easily and quotes too extensively the words of participants recounting their actions. The book includes a good index but no documentary footnotes and exhibits several obvious typographical errors. More than seventy illustrations accompany the text, but some of these are poorly reproduced.

As a case study of the suffrage movement in a single state, a work of this kind should offer insight into the peculiar circumstances that influenced the local situation as well as an assessment of the relationship between events in the state and the changing national context. It could be a vehicle for imaginative interpretation and comparison. *Strong-Minded Women*

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fails to exploit in any systematic way the opportunities inherent in its subject.

KEITH E. MELDER
Smithsonian Institution

ALLEN WEINSTEIN. *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867–1878.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 433. $10.00.

THOMAS A. CLINCH. *Urban Populism and Free Silver in Montana: A Narrative of Ideology in Political Action.* [Missoula:] University of Montana Press; distrib. by Montana Historical Society, Helena. 1970. Pp. xiii, 190. $4.95.

MARY ELLEN GLASS. *Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892–1902.* (The Lancehead Series: Nevada and the West.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 242. $5.50.

JOHN A. BRENNAN. *Silver and the First New Deal.* Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1969. Pp. 187. $5.50.

These four monographs contribute to a reappraisal of the silver issue in American politics. While indicating that the unique circumstances of three depression eras produced different policies in each, these treatises disclose a developing continuity. Certain myths and accepted historical interpretations are overthrown by the authors. Weinstein modifies the conspiratorial "Crime of '73" and explodes the myth of "Bonanza King" responsibility for free silver agitation during 1876–78. He invalidates the Beard class-sectional interpretation by establishing an Eastern-Midwestern urban origin and leadership of the movement that synchronized with Nevada's demands for congressional action. If, however, he had consulted agricultural journals and noted the farflung farmer constituency of the Chicago *Tribune*'s bimetallic campaign, he would have discovered an urban-rural Middle West free silver movement, the prototype of the urban Rocky Mountain-agrarian West and South free silver alliance of the nineties and New Deal periods. If Weinstein had seriously analyzed the international bimetallic argument of 1873–78, such as Henry Demarest Lloyd reviewed in the Chicago *Tribune*, he could have identified the stereotypes that were revived by the American Bimetallic League in the nineties and by the Silver Bloc during the New Deal. This would make it possible to identify novel arguments grafted upon free silver propaganda in these later eras.

Clinch demonstrates that urban, labor reformer Montana Populists never accepted free silver as the essence of Populism, as Weinstein's title implies. Their advocacy of free silver involved no "sell-out" of broader reform, and anti-Semitism and residual right-wingism were lacking. Montana Populism was discredited only by the support given to William A. Clark's corrupt bid for United States senator by two Populist officials. Glass proves that Nevada's dominant Silver party of 1892–1902 was controlled not by mining interests but by the Southern Pacific Railroad, which blocked state reforms. Weinstein makes it clear that silver-mining business participation in the free silver movement began after 1878. Clinch and Glass indicate that this began in 1892 when the movement joined the already active agrarian West and South. Brennan describes the revival, led by Senator Elmer Thomas, of this alliance in the New Deal period and details the ill-coordinated activities of the discordant Silver Bloc and mining lobby. He discloses that the "broker leadership" of Franklin D. Roosevelt on silver policy was an administrative political reaction to the silver issue as part of a larger inflationary threat such as had confronted the Rutherford B. Hayes administration. The administration, however, of Key Pittman's international silver agreement and of the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. injured Nationalist China, failed to establish a high international silver price, and accumulated a great silver hoard without increasing money in circulation. That hoard was marketed to American industry, as Brennan does not observe, at great profit after World War II, and it more than wiped out the $1,500,000,000 cost claimed by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. for the Pittman-Roosevelt-Morgenthau policy.

All four authors are to be congratulated upon their adherence to critical historical realism and their freedom from preconceptions derived either from both the interest and political groups analyzed or from accepted historical assumptions. It is regrettable that this was not accompanied by complete coverage of the subject in one instance (Weinstein), by adequate use of background literature in another (Glass), by thorough analysis of ideological as-

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pects of the subject (all four), and by recognition in Brennan's case that the Thomas-Father Coughlin alignment linked the latter's large urban following to the agrarian-Rocky Mountain silver alliance. Clinch's assertion that the Populists sought a fifty dollars per capita increase in the currency is a clear misinterpretation of the Omaha platform. Brennan's careless proofreading accounts for the omission of at least three footnotes, while his presentation would have been improved had he submitted it to stylistic criticism in advance of publication.

CHESTER MCARTHUR DESTLER
Berkeley College, Yale University

MICHAEL JAY MJELDE. *Glory of the Seas.* (The American Maritime Library, Volume 1.) Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press for the Marine Historical Association. 1970. Pp. x, 303. $9.95.

Glory of the Seas was the last clipper ship designed and built by Donald McKay, doubtless the most famous American naval architect and shipbuilder of the nineteenth century. Launched at East Boston in 1869, her remarkably long career ended only when she was burned for her metal fastenings at Seattle in 1923. After a single round voyage across the North Atlantic, *Glory of the Seas* was employed successively carrying cargo between New York and San Francisco by way of Cape Horn, in the grain trade from California to Europe, carrying coal from Vancouver Island and Puget Sound to California, transporting lumber along the Pacific Coast, and finally as a floating salmon cannery in Alaska.

Although this is primarily a detailed biography of one ship, it reveals a great deal about the men who owned, managed, and sailed her; about life on board, both in the after cabin and before the mast; and about the various deepwater and coastwise trades in which she served. The last of the great American clippers, *Glory of the Seas* was pushed out of one service after another by more efficient competition, and her career was representative of a whole phase of American maritime history.

Michael Jay Mjelde, an engineering draftsman of Bremerton, Washington, put a dozen years of research into this book. His footnotes and bibliography reflect extensive work in public documents, newspapers, business and family archives, and twenty personal interviews, as well as standard references. Although sometimes tantalizingly brief and lacking in specific detail, these references give evidence of painstaking, persistent, and resourceful research. Mr. Mjelde is obviously enthusiastic about his subject, but he usually succeeds in avoiding florid, overly dramatic writing.

The book is splendidly illustrated; there are over forty photographs of the ship, of ports she frequented, and of men who served in her, as well as five plans drafted by the author and reproductions of a number of paintings and documents.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE
Pomona College

CHARLES N. GLAAB and LAWRENCE H. LARSEN. *Factories in the Valley: Neenah-Menasha, 1870–1915.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1969. Pp. ix, 293. $5.95.

In recent years urban history has been primarily concerned with the larger cities of America. In contrast, *Factories in the Valley* is a rather intensive review of Neenah and Menasha, two small Wisconsin cities destined to become a portion of an important industrial development in the Fox River Valley. Running northward from Lake Winnebago to Green Bay, the forty-mile-long Lower Fox River had a remarkably constant flow of water that made an abundance of power available for manufacturing. Adjacent communities, separated only by the river, the two towns were politically separate, but clearly had a common economic unity.

As in dozens of other cities, the local boosters in Neenah and Menasha visualized for the future a giant industrial center based upon water power and the abundance of local natural resources. In the early postwar years the two cities obtained rail connections with Milwaukee and Chicago. Flour milling was the major industry, with more than half of the local capital invested in fifteen mills. Within a few years, however, a shift in Wisconsin agriculture from wheat to dairy farming, plus the failure of the local millers to adopt

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new milling techniques, led to a decline in the flour industry. In the 1880s local business leaders like John A. Kimberly, Charles B. Clark, and George A. Whiting shifted the industrial base from flour milling to papermaking. By the turn of the century Neenah-Menasha had become a modest part of a sprawling paper manufacturing complex serving a growing national market.

Professors Glaab and Larsen have written a worthy companion volume to Alice E. Smith's earlier *Millstone and Saw: The Origins of Neenah–Menasha* (1967). The authors bring much life and detail to their story as they trace patterns of urban development from the early dreams of grandeur through years of modest growth to early twentieth-century industrial maturity. The volume is strong in biographical material for both the business leader and the mill hand. Included are excellent treatments of significant nineteenth-century technological developments for both flour milling and papermaking. While the essay on sources is quite brief, the volume is fully documented. The authors have used a wealth of sources including local newspapers, county histories, confidential credit rating reports, and the business records of several Neenah-Menasha firms. *Factories in the Valley* should be welcomed by all students of business, social, and urban history.

JOHN F. STOVER
Purdue University

GEORGE MARTIN. *Causes and Conflicts: The Centennial History of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 1870–1970.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1970. Pp. xviii, 436. $10.00.

This book is an unusual study of a voluntary association. It is an official history for which the author received and exercised a free hand. It is also a popular history of a professional elite. Though trained as a lawyer, the author expressly adopts "a layman's view" of the organization. Seldom has a bar association generated more pleasurable reading. The "layman's view," however, inevitably limits the book's utility for professional historians.

The objectives of the New York City bar association are to provide library and social facilities for leading lawyers, to improve the professional standards of bench and bar, and to furnish occasional leadership in public affairs. All these subjects are considered in a chronological narrative covering three-fourths of the volume, but the emphasis is explicitly on the role of the association in public controversies—and its "causes and conflicts." This approach is understandable in view of the problems and personalities involved. The association was born in the fight against the Tweed Ring and has won glory in sundry battles since. Its list of presidents—for examples, Evarts, Root, Hughes, Stimson, Patterson, and Brownell—includes illustrations names in American history. Concentration on conflicts dramatizes the organization's links to interesting people and times, not to mention the everlasting agony of governing New York City.

The dramatics, on the other hand, produce an imbalanced interpretation. One chapter devoted to the grievance committee does not offset overemphasis of the association's spasmodic reform efforts or neglect of its sustained contributions to legislation and policy debates. The explanation of its continuing failure to change New York's system of electing judges rises little higher than that bad-guy politicians outfoxed good-guy lawyers. A questionable method of implicating the organization in reformist activities of individual members, such as Charles Evans Hughes, is aggravated by failure to do likewise for antireformers such as Joseph H. Choate. For experts, moreover, several episodes may be twice-told tales. The only primary sources are association archives.

On balance, the work is still superior to most official organizational histories. Within its premises, it is a skillfully executed and lively study that should satisfy the curiosity of most lawyers and general readers regarding the country's first and foremost bar association. The main attractions for specialists are archive materials concerning internal disputes over the organization's mission, the feuds of David Dudley Field, and the association's renowned library.

J. WOODFORD HOWARD, JR.
The Johns Hopkins University

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PAUL M. GASTON. *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. viii, 298, vi. $7.95.

In recent years a number of books and essays have been written on aspects of Southern "mythology." Some of our most imaginative historians have attempted to analyze and explain the images and legends popularly associated with the South. *The New South Creed* is the latest effort of this kind. It is also one of the best. Paul Gaston has focused on the "New South" idea, which has received less attention than the legend of the "Old South" and has provided a perceptive account of how a programmatic creed developed into what he describes as an authentic social myth.

The "New South" program of the 1870s and eighties is easy to sum up: Gaston describes it succinctly as a call for "industrial progress, diversified agriculture, and cooperation with the North." In racial matters the proponents of a "New South" championed an allegedly benevolent version of white supremacy that crystallized as the "separate but equal" formula. This post-Reconstruction image of the South developed initially as an optimistic prophecy and as a program for action designed to bring pride, prosperity, and racial harmony to a region ravaged and humiliated by the Civil War experience. But the promises of economic development and amicable race relations were not fulfilled. Unable either to face this situation squarely or to take the action necessary to remedy it, Southern spokesmen were driven by the end of the 1880s to claim a success that had not actually been attained, thereby taking refuge in a "mythic view" of their society. Thereafter, Gaston points out, the leaders of Southern opinion were able to hide both from themselves and others the profound defects in Southern social, economic, and political life simply by repeating ritualistically that earlier predictions of prosperity, progress, and racial accommodation had actually been fulfilled. Thus a program for change became a conservative incantation that served to obstruct the kind of fundamental reforms actually needed to achieve the goals originally posited by Henry Grady and the "New South" movement. The inflated talk of Southern achievement, Gaston emphasizes, was not just propaganda, cynically concocted to buttress the privileges of a Southern elite; it was the product of authentic "mythmaking," a process by which man gives meaning to his social existence and erects defenses against realities that he is unable or unwilling to confront. He also finds an important "mythic" dimension in the cult of the "Old South" that came to full flower at the same time the "New South" was being heralded and was in fact promulgated by many of the same people. Taking mild issue with C. Vann Woodward, Gaston sees the romantic legend of the ante bellum plantation as more than a "sugar-coating" for the new departure into industrial capitalism and urbanization; it was also a deeply felt response to the deflation of the Southern ego after Appomattox and one important aspect of the revival of regional self-confidence.

It is difficult to find fault with this excellent work. One wonders, however, if the central concept of myth, drawn primarily from literary criticism, is as useful a device for understanding the function of the "New South" creed as the alternative concept of ideology would have been. To speak of a "New South" ideology not only suggests a pattern of belief that serves to prevent change by obscuring discordant realities but also points to the need for a further consideration of the class and caste relationships that underlay the growth of the "New South" mentality.

GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON
Northwestern University

MAURY KLEIN. *The Great Richmond Terminal: A Study in Businessmen and Business Strategy.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. 1970. Pp. xiii, 323. $9.50.

The story of the Richmond & West Point Terminal and Warehouse Company is an unsavory but instructive episode in the business and economic history of the New South. Organized in 1880, the Terminal was a holding company through which officers of the Richmond & Danville, the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia, and the Central of Georgia explored the farther shores of speculation. Though it owned 8,883 miles of track, never did it

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actually operate a railroad. Like some conglomorates of more recent memory, the Terminal was a vehicle for opportunistic ambitions rather than a device for effective developmental control. As such, it faltered then failed during the panic of 1893, was salvaged by the House of Morgan, and re-established as the less newsworthy but more sound Southern Railway Company.

Professor Klein tells these tales well, but his purpose is to use the Terminal to propagate a broader interpretation of post-Civil War railroading east of the Mississippi and south of the Potomac. He makes a good case. Klein discards John F. Stover's Northern-Southern dichotomy and opts for a variation of the approach used by Arthur M. Johnson and Barry E. Supple in their study of Middle Western roads. Generations of Southern railroad leadership, Klein argues, are more definable in terms of their strategic perceptions and tactical behavior than by their birthplace or residence.

Three generations are identified in the New South. The first (1865–80) comprised men with strong ties to particular trade patterns. Railroads to them were weapons to be forged, honed, and wielded in incessant interurban commercial war. These men were preoccupied with physical expansion, but their perspective was territorial and developmental. A second generation (1880–93) had few particularistic ties and was far more self- than community-centered. These men perceived railroads in financial rather than physical terms and sought their profits in extensive growth rather than intensive development. Their outlook was decidedly interterritorial and opportunistic. The third generation (after 1893) comprised practical, pragmatic, professional salvagers who sorted through the physical and financial shambles left by their immediate predecessors and fashioned longer-lasting balances between opportunism and developmentalism.

The proprietors of the Terminal, Klein argues, are examples of the second generation. He highlights the process and conceptualizes (but does not quantitatively measure) the costs and benefits of their reign. He also suggests that the sequence of generational change in the South differed from that documented for the Middle West by Johnson and Supple: a three-stage movement from territorial developmentalism to interterritorial opportunism and back again, rather than a steady progression from territorial opportunism to interterritorial developmentalism. Otherwise, he traces an all too familiar American pattern in which publics and governments were duped by the rhetoric of community ends into acquiescence in fraudulent corporate means.

JAMES P. BAUGHMAN
Harvard University

ODIE B. FAULK. *The Geronimo Campaign*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 245. $6.00.

Until his ultimate surrender to General Nelson A. Miles in September 1886, Geronimo and his band of hostile Apaches led the American army on a frustrating chase on both sides of the United States-Mexican border. It is this "campaign" of 1885–86 that is the subject of Professor Faulk's book.

The volume is not the definitive, thoroughly documented account that one might expect at this stage of Geronimo historiography. In much of his story Faulk adds little to other accounts, such as the recent *Conquest of Apacheria* by Dan L. Thrapp. What he does provide in greater detail is the story of the preliminary surrender of Geronimo to Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood, based upon materials gathered by Gatewood's son. Perhaps because of heavy reliance on this family collection, Gatewood is the hero of the book, and the author laments that the lieutenant did not get the credit he deserved for his great feat. The whole story, to some extent, is told in terms of heroes, of whom General George Crook is close behind Gatewood, and villains, of whom General Miles is the blackest.

The last third of the book concerns events after the surrender. Here Faulk discusses what he calls the "betrayal of the Apaches" by the government in sending them to imprisonment in Florida, the controversy about who should get the glory for the capture of the Apache leader, and the subsequent careers of the chief actors in the campaign. His final conclusion that Geronimo was "a great American" would have come as strange news to

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Gatewood, Crook, Miles, and many others in that episode of Southwest history.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA
Marquette University

ROBERT MOSES. *Public Works: A Dangerous Trade*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. xxxvi, 952. $14.50.

MEL SCOTT. *American City Planning since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners*. (California Studies in Urbanization and Environmental Design.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xxii, 745. $17.50.

Robert Moses' achievements in public works made him a legend in his own lifetime. His memoir is a witty and entertaining collection of office memorandums, speeches, press releases, and other memorabilia. They vividly re-create the situations surrounding the many projects he undertook and clearly expose the basic premises and biases underlying his ideas. Moses' personal dynamism enabled him to etch his vision of the physical environment into the very fabric of a city and state. "Vision" here is the key word, and the opening quotation sets the tone of the book: "Grant us the will to fashion as we feel. . . . Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel, to strike the blow." No one, neither millionaire nor neighborhood, was permitted to stand in the way of the realization of his vision.

Moses was an administrative genius and compounded the solutions to the problems confronting his many offices only out of the stuff of the possible. His deep understanding of the prime political and economic forces that moved the wheels of change underlay his keen sense of the revolutionary impact that the mass production of the automobile would have on the physical environment and the future of cities. But it is the many public parks and beaches that he was instrumental in creating that will stand as his great monuments. His belief in the automobile as the prime mode of urban transportation, and his lack of respect for both the dense urban fabric and local opinion and feeling must stand as great question marks in the assessment of his incredible career. But then had he broadened his vision to include something more than only the possible, it would not have been so readily realizable—and looking at either Long Island or Third Avenue today, perhaps more worthy of the fight.

Mel Scott's history of the growth of the planning profession and of the "planning function in modern government" over the past eighty years was commissioned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the American Institute of Planners. It is a fascinating story. It begins in the last decade of the nineteenth century with George E. Kessler's ambitious park plans and the prophetic movement for a regional plan for Greater Boston. The limitations of formalist planning, the negative legacy of the first zoning ordinances, and our long-standing failure to deal with urban social problems are all brilliantly documented, as is the period of intense introspection in the second decade of this century, which led to the formation of the Institute of City Planners. Scott's examination of the many reform movements is consistently thorough, and the book is worth while for its bibliography alone. Its high point is clearly the delineation of the century-old housing crisis that continues to plague our cities. It is depressing to discover how well most of our contemporary urban ills were defined eighty years ago and that most of the solutions advocated still wait serious trial.

This raises a key problem, which is unfortunately not dealt with in either book. What is the relationship, in our profit-oriented society, between the decision-making mechanism and the role of the planner? For example, whose interests does the planner represent—those of economic and political forces, or those of the poor and politically powerless? As a civil servant he finds the former difficult to escape, and as an advocate for the latter, he has been neither effective nor welcome. Moses carved a position of power out of the first alternative. But the appalling record of misery and destruction wrought on both the urban poor and marginal sector of the urban economy by the public housing, interstate highway, and urban renewal programs compels a reassessment of the relationship between the planner and those affected by his plans. Significantly, Jane Jacobs, whose neighborhood

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group fought for a decade to defeat Moses' crude plans for Greenwich Village, is not mentioned in Moses' book and is given short shrift by Scott. She is a sore point, having questioned both the range of the planners' competence and exposed the often simplistic and personal biases that underlie so many plans. This she claimed was a poor substitute for the local resident's firsthand knowledge of his neighborhood. But surely the one need not exclude the other, and what is lacking in Scott's otherwise outstanding book is a hint of the more complex mechanism that will key the one into the other. The general and the particular must be mutually reinforcing, otherwise they both lack meaning.

Both books are essential reading for anyone interested in the planning process and New York.

ALLAN GREENBERG
Yale University,
School of Architecture

JOHN MILTON COOPER, JR. *The Vanity of Power: American Isolationism and the First World War, 1914–1917.* (Contributions in American History, Number 3.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xii, 271. $11.50.

SONDRA R. HERMAN. *Eleven against War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought, 1898–1921.* Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1969. Pp. xiv, 264. $8.90.

These studies are first books by young scholars who have done extensive research in manuscript collections and have made careful use of published materials. Both provide excellent background for the study of the debates over isolationism and internationalism in the United States during the present century. Both historians see their topics not merely as reactions to foreign challenges but as aspects of American intellectual and social history. At times they devote as much attention to the thinking of certain leaders about the problems of American society as to their attitudes on foreign affairs.

Mr. Cooper notes that isolationism is "a term that historians have inherited rather than invented" and that it originated "as an epithet in public debate." For that reason he deliberately uses the "cumbersomely inclusive" definition of isolationism as "an attitude, policy, doctrine, or position opposed to the commitment of American force outside the Western Hemisphere, except in the rarest and briefest instances." He is primarily interested in the emergence of isolationism as a definite political position in response to the idealistic internationalism Woodrow Wilson proclaimed on several occasions before the declaration of war in 1917. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge represent one group of isolationists. They had often urged internationalist ideas, but at heart they were ultranationalists and could not accept Wilsonian internationalism with its demand that the United States assume large responsibilities for maintaining peace. William Jennings Bryan and William E. Borah represent another kind of thinking, which Cooper calls "idealistic isolationism." Bryan and Borah believed that an America isolated from diplomatic entanglements could serve as an example of freedom and greatness to the Old World. Robert M. La Follette, George W. Norris, and numerous other congressional leaders are also subjects of searching analysis. Cooper provides considerable insight into why so many Progressives in Congress became isolationists. He also comments upon the isolationist writings of Randolph Bourne and of two scholars, Samuel P. Orth of Cornell University and Ellery Stowell of Columbia University. Their views are are interesting, but their significance seems doubtful. Cooper is more convincing when he writes about politicians.

Like Cooper, Mrs. Herman finds her topic somewhat difficult to define. She observes that internationalism in the United States during the early twentieth century "represented neither a pure nor a unified set of beliefs." In fact, she arrives at no real definition, but she finds that there were "at the very least two different ideals of international society with very little agreement between them." The advocates of a world court or a league of nations represent one of these ideals. People who were more interested in international social and economic developments than in formal international institutions represent another ideal. Mrs. Herman calls these people "community internationalists." She chooses

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Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler as representatives of the movement to establish a world court and to codify international law. She devotes one essay to the ideas of collective security of five leaders of the League to Enforce Peace: Hamilton Holt, Theodore Marburg, A. Lawrence Lowell, John Bates Clark, and Franklin H. Giddings. Three community internationalists, Josiah Royce, Jane Addams, and Thorstein Veblen, receive more attention; each is the subject of an essay, as is the eleventh opponent of war, Woodrow Wilson. Mrs. Herman's essays on Root and Butler, the League to Enforce Peace, and Wilson contain little that is new, but they are clear and concise and should prove convenient references. The essays on the "community internationalists," in contrast, often seem vague, and they do not explain satisfactorily the influence of Royce, Addams, and Veblen on the thinking of their time about international relations. Even so, through these essays Mrs. Herman challenges fellow students of internationalism to consider developments other than those of an institutional character. This challenge may prove her most important contribution.

These books will not change interpretations of American isolationism and internationalism as historical phenomena to a large extent, but they are intelligent studies that deserve inclusion in lists for collateral reading in American history courses, both graduate and undergraduate. And they merit reading.

CALVIN D. DAVIS
Duke University

NAOMI W. COHEN. *A Dual Heritage: The Public Career of Oscar S. Straus.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1969. Pp. xi, 394. $6.50.

At the turn of the century Oscar Straus was the outstanding Jew in American public life. Brought to this country as a child before the Civil War, he rose to become three-time envoy to Turkey, secretary of commerce and labor in Roosevelt's cabinet and a confidant of the president, and a Progressive of some note who ran for governor of New York in 1912 and labored in the vineyards of good government, industrial conciliation, the peace movement, and the League of Nations. By reason of his offices, he also served as Court Jew, interceding with the authorities on behalf of his less fortunate co-religionists.

Straus is all but forgotten today; and Professor Cohen's definitive, objective, and pedestrian biography will not change that verdict—partly, I suspect, because her subject was a rather dull, unattractive person, but largely because his achievements were peripheral to the course of American political and diplomatic history. The work under review, based on Straus's papers and other manuscript collections, fills out the details but offers little that is significantly new. Straus's efforts to win improved conditions for East European Jews in Russia, Palestine, and the United States were more productive, although here, too, there are no surprises in the story.

Professor Cohen finds the meaning of Straus's life in his reconciliation of Americanism and Judaism. By the evidence presented, however, his fusion of the dual heritage was an abstract and facile one that broke down in the face of realities, both social and psychological. While he adamantly refused to appeal for support as a Jew or see any ethnic implications in his appointments to office, the incontestable fact was that he was chosen for diplomatic posts and for the cabinet because he was a Jew, in order to point a moral of American toleration (Cleveland) or corral the Jewish vote (Roosevelt). As an immigrant who had made it, he was never fully accepted by the establishment. As a symbol of success to the immigrant Jewish masses in New York City, his fraternal sentiments were roiled by feelings of estrangement rooted in differences of class and culture, by fears that aggressive protest would hurt the proper Jewish image and his own fortunate status, and by hopes that all ethnic distinctions would disappear along with the whole problem. Were not his compulsive expenditures of energy, punctuated by bouts of nervous headaches, symptoms of the fact that he was not quite at ease in the New World Zion and that his vaunted reconciliation was, at least, incomplete?

Straus's life story could have been shaped more significantly and interestingly as a case history of the immigrant who made good and

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whose relations with his less successful fellows were ambivalent, whose cultural assimilation was more complete than his assimilation into the "WASP" social structure, and whose moderate reform efforts outside the Progressive profile stemmed more from his marginal status than from his religious beliefs. Straus as Jew and immigrant, with his successes, failures, inner conflicts, accomodations, and rationalizations, could have been a more vital portrait than the mask on the memorial plaque to the "Statesman–Author–Diplomat" that Professor Cohen has raised to his memory.

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD
Richmond College,
City University of New York

GEOFFREY J. MARTIN. *Mark Jefferson: Geographer.* [Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University Press.] 1968. Pp. x, 370. $8.95.

This is a sympathetic and, at times, critical account of the life and work of one of the leading American geographers of the first half of the twentieth century. Mark Jefferson (1863–1949) served for almost forty years as head of the geography department in the State Normal College, now Eastern Michigan University, at Ypsilanti, Michigan. Martin taught in the same department from 1959 to 1965 and had access to Jefferson's enormous accumulation of notebooks, papers, and correspondence. From this material he has fashioned an account that should appeal to those who are interested in the development of geographic thought in the United States.

Jefferson was born in a suburb of Boston. Before completing his last year at Boston University in 1883, he accepted a post as assistant in the Argentine National Observatory in Cordobá, and subsequently managed a sugar hacienda in Tucumán. After his final return to the United States and his graduation from Boston University, he spent some years teaching in the Massachusetts school system. During this time he also devoted himself to studies at Harvard University under William Morris Davis and others. He received his A.B. in 1897 and his M.A. in 1898 from that institution. In 1901 he was appointed professor of geography at the Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti, and taught there with few interruptions until his forced retirement at age seventy-six in 1939.

One of the early surveys of geographic education in the United States notes that teachers in normal colleges were generally overworked and had little time for research. Jefferson certainly did not fit the latter description, for the four decades at Ypsilanti were his most productive. His many articles, notes, and reviews in the leading geographical journals attest to his scholarly ability. During this period he also served as marshal for the American Geographical Society's Transcontinental Excursion in 1912. In 1918 he conducted the American Geographical Society's ABC Expedition to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile; in 1919 he served as chief cartographer in Paris for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

He was an excellent teacher; and many of his students, among them Isaiah Bowman, Charles C. Colby, and R. R. Platt, gained prominence in the profession. Writing was difficult for him; nevertheless, his contributions were many and varied. His early work was devoted to physiography and to rainfall and temperature distribution, but he later turned to more lasting contributions in regional and urban geography. His South American experiences contributed greatly to his regional research and writing. Many of his books and articles were stimulating and thought-provoking; and two of them, the often reprinted "The Civilizing Rails" and "The Law of the Primate City," are excellent examples of his scholarship.

In his last chapter, "The Geography of Mark Jefferson: Some Thoughts and Reflections," Martin assesses his subject's impact on American geography. Jefferson's writings certainly influenced several of his contemporaries. Their lasting influence, particularly the articles on cities and population, is easily discerned through citations in recent publications. His former student Charles C. Colby stated to Martin in 1960 that "in his published work Jefferson was creative and brilliant, but seldom systematic and logical." The creative and brilliant segments of his works, of course, are most important today. Perhaps the citation read when the American

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Geographical Society bestowed its Cullum Medal on Jefferson in 1931 states it better than anything else: "To Professor Mark Jefferson for the Savor of True Geography in his Ingenious and Fruitful Inquiries into Man's Distribution on the Earth."

This book is a welcome addition to the small but growing number of biographies of American geographers and should serve as a stimulus to further research.

JOHN A. WOLTER
Library of Congress

MELVYN DUBOFSKY. *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1969. Pp. xviii, 557. $12.50.

GIBBS M. SMITH. *Joe Hill.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 286. $7.00.

JOSEPH ROBERT CONLIN. *Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies.* (Contributions in American History, Number 1.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xv, 165. $8.50.

The problems in writing the history of the poor are often remarked. They leave meager records, and the records are seldom preserved. There are added dimensions of difficulty in writing the history of the Industrial Workers of the World. A dismaying amount of IWW history is local history set in obscure byways and backwaters, areas hard to research. In addition the IWW as an organization was a kaleidoscope, and its leadership came and went almost through a revolving door. Walter Lippmann once remarked that the IWW changes faster than most men can think.

Melvin Dubofsky has triumphed over these bafflements to produce what will certainly be the definitive history of the IWW for this generation and probably beyond. His is a sustained performance, maintaining the same high standards for the late years as for the early years, for the East as for the West. Dubofsky's treatment of the IWW's strange amalgam of ideologies is superior. The portraits of IWW leaders, especially Haywood, are skillful and mature. And the book successfully re-creates the flesh-and-blood dimensions of the life and problems of the casual laborer or Western miner of the period. The bibliography and index are themselves contributions.

The Wobblies have been much romanticized. Dubofsky is scrupulous in peeling away the legend to get at life. On the whole, this is a fair and objective book. The author does, at least in the preface and introduction, overargue the "relevance" of the Wobblies. Their record speaks for itself on that score. And he is on thin ice in suggesting (pp. xii, 9) that the IWW seriously addressed itself to the problems of the Negro. The rest of the book doesn't bear this out, nor does the record.

It is probably inevitable that the AFL will suffer in any book that tries to see the world through the eyes of the Wobblies, and it does suffer here. Likewise, there is a kind of shadowy cardboard quality about the employers concerned. But this is a book about the IWW. To really understand the role of the AFL, the Socialist party, and the employers would require several more vast volumes. Needless to say, more will be written about the IWW. But any new studies will be enormously speeded by this dedicated, highly professional, and thoughtful volume.

Gibbs M. Smith's biography of Joe Hill brings together virtually everything we are likely to know about the Wobbly bard. If it also includes some material of doubtful authenticity or value, this simply underlines how little—virtually nothing, really—we know about Joe Hill before his arrest.

The book reinforces some earlier conclusions by historians about Hill. He was an unimportant—indeed, a very marginal—Wobbly before his arrest. His trial was certainly not a frame-up, nor was Hill arrested and tried because of his IWW membership, song and story to the contrary notwithstanding. The trial he received did not prove him guilty beyond the shadow of a doubt, but on the other hand, as Smith makes plain, there was a very distinct possibility that he was indeed guilty.

Like all good biographies, this one illustrates the times as well as a life. Smith was especially conscientious in researching the legal aspects of the case, and the book is a model exposition in that regard.

Joseph R. Conlin's *Bread and Roses* brings together a series of interpretive and revision-

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ist essays. Conlin is clearly at home among the appropriate sources; he is especially strong in his use of European material and his comparative approach to the study of the IWW. Several of his points—that the Wobblies were not as violent in action as in rhetoric, that they were not as opposed as often represented to political or electoral action, and that they were more in the American stream than earlier writers have suggested—are also made by Dubofsky; and the two books reinforce each other in several ways. Dubofsky's treatment is more useful for the general reader because Conlin often assumes a knowledge of IWW history on the part of his audience that many readers will not have. The specialist, however, will find this a useful book.

HUGH G. CLELAND
State University of New York, Stony Brook

CHARLES V. GENTHE. *American War Narratives, 1917–1918: A Study and Bibliography.* New York: David Lewis. 1969. Pp. 194. $10.00.

The trenches of the western front were not, after all, manned by armies of pathetic cannon fodder with a leavening of disillusioned literati and anarcho-socialists, whatever popular misconceptions were encouraged by the literature of postwar realism; and least of all, according to this brief monograph, the trenches of the American Expeditionary Force, where stood the "Adamic Doughboy" whose rawboned literary outpourings dwelt unflinchingly on the themes of "Holy Cause, sacrifice, individual worth and prowess, good struggling against evil, Nature, individual renaissance and national progress, chivalry and excitement. . . ." So much for Henry F. May's intellectuals, at least as mirrors of the American mass mind; such glamourization of the First World War can be explained only in terms of the enduring sway of nineteenth-century American innocence and isolation.

This conclusion, though less revelatory perhaps than Genthe makes it out to be, is persuasively and painstakingly arrived at. But it is difficult not to regret his use of quotations that turn out to be of foreign origin, and difficult to see the point—rather taken for granted—of the narratives not by Americans at all that happen to have found an American publisher and thus their way into his sixty-five-page annotated bibliography. It may very well be, as Genthe claims, that there was much of a sameness Over There about European and American romanticism; yet this is controverted often enough elsewhere to suggest shortcomings in definition and possibly in methodology.

JOHN P. CAMPBELL
McMaster University

DONALD YOUNG, editor. *Adventure in Politics: The Memoirs of Philip La Follette.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xvii, 299. $7.95.

The published memoirs of Philip La Follette could have been an important source. They might have cast an intimate light on his personal and political upbringing in the family of "Fighting Bob" La Follette. They might have disclosed new information about Phil's three innovative terms as governor of Wisconsin (1931–32, 1935–38), his championship of third parties to challenge the New Deal from the Left and produce an ideological realignment of American politics, his successful fight to fire Glen Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, or his alleged flirtation with fascism.

The memoirs are a disappointment. The most memorable things about La Follette's childhood were the family's horses. His discussion of family life before his father's death —the first third of the book—features events already described in the biography of his father by his mother and sister. There is no inside information about his tactics with the legislature, except the regret that he had been too "squeamish" to use "under the table" methods to secure the Works Bill of 1935. He provides no new material to answer the charge of "executive dictatorship" raised by conservatives and progressives alike in his third term. He does not discuss the sources of his ideology and program, which were expressed in his 1931 inaugural address, a speech Charles Beard called the most important state paper in American history.

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La Follette's feelings toward events and people must be pieced together from the anecdotes that are the most revealing parts of the book. Perhaps for this reason he emerges as a strangely ambivalent person. He could not decide whether he admired FDR and the New Deal. Although he turned down eight jobs in the New Deal and regarded FDR as a shallow political tactician who was blind to the causes and results of poverty, he also said that FDR did a "tremendous" job in his first term and quoted Roosevelt's approval as final justification for several Wisconsin programs. Although he said that he sponsored Progressive parties in 1934 and 1938 for ideological reasons, he also said that those third parties grew from the New Deal's ability to lure progressive voters out of his Republican party, which, in turn, meant his defeat in Republican primaries. There are hints of jealousy toward his brother, and particularly over Bob's greater political security as a senator. Phil apparently regretted Bob's compromises with FDR and other senators and his "dark melancholy." While hating totalitarian movements, Phil obviously admired Hitler and Douglas MacArthur because they created national opportunities and purposes.

Despite his unwillingness to reveal himself in public and to develop his feelings systematically, Phil's memoirs are a convenient introduction to these problems. They show that grassroots organization and thousands of volunteers can produce stunning political victories against opposition from newspapers, "old-style" politicians, and interest groups. The editor wisely decided to trim the original manuscript and add some of Phil's private letters and selections from the candid, unpublished reminiscences of his wife, Isabelle.

DAVID P. THELEN
University of Missouri

CHARLES O. JACKSON. *Food and Drug Legislation in the New Deal.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 249. $7.50.

During this time of growing consumer pressures for more legislative protection in the market place, it is especially interesting to be reminded of the difficulties similar proposals have encountered in the past. Charles O. Jackson has chronicled the saga of the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938, and he has done extremely well in telling of the obstacles in the form of hearings, amendments, and other legislative stratagems intended either to prevent the passage of a new law or to dilute it significantly.

Following a talk with Walter Campbell, chief of the Food and Drug Administration, Rexford Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture, received approval from the president for revision of the 1906 law. Tugwell, in *The Democratic Roosevelt,* wrote that "Franklin at first committed himself to it without hesitation," but Jackson makes it clear that FDR was primarily a passive spectator, not only because his basic concern at the time was with relief and recovery, but also because of his antipathy to Senator Royal Copeland, the Democrat from New York who was the bill's legislative sponsor.

A jurisdictional dispute between the Federal Trade Commission and the FDA over which bureau would control advertising was another obstacle used by opponents of Copeland's measure to hold up possible passage for several years. Only after the FTC gained control of advertising in the 1938 Wheeler-Lea Act did the chairman of the House Commerce Committee permit the drug bill to reach the House floor. And only because of the 1937 "Elixir Sulfanilamide" tragedy, which took the lives of more than one hundred people, many of them children, did the bill actually become law. As Jackson makes clear, the 1938 Act, despite its many shortcomings, was a distinct advance over its 1906 predecessor, particularly in its insistence that manufacturers seeking to market a new drug should first demonstrate its safety.

The author has done his work well. He does not deal, however, with one aspect of the bill's passage that I feel should not be neglected. In his biography of Roosevelt, Tugwell asserts that Copeland's cooperation with lobbyists was a conspiracy to emasculate the bill. Was it? Or was that cooperation evidence for an extension of Gabriel Kolko's position that no legislation significantly affecting business is passed without its support?

MORRIS W. GARBER
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

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LEONARD BAKER. *Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. viii, 356. $8.95.

Leonard Baker's book is a study of the year 1941 (in twelve month-named chapters); it focuses on President Roosevelt and the events leading to full American participation in World War II. In a necessarily cursory manner the author covers domestic politics, defense production developments, foreign affairs, military preparations, the draft, "America first," and sundry other issues and events that arose in that dramatic year. A professional writer, Baker uses effectively most of the important secondary works dealing with FDR and the coming of the war. He spices the account with tidbits from fresh research in a large number of manuscript collections, but the story line remains essentially that presented in most of the current collegiate textbooks. If there is a thesis, it would be the unstated one that the revisionist writings from Tansill to the New Left are not worth considering. As Baker sees it, Franklin Roosevelt understood the importance of England's resistance to Germany and therefore never hesitated to help as best he could. He knew that America was divided about getting into war; thus he let the times educate the people and Congress while he worked on defense production and on getting the armed forces into shape. Japan's actions in China were inconsistent with America's long-term interests in Asia, and they were also hurtful of the British war effort. The United States had to block the Japanese, even though there was the possibility that such action might force them to declare war. Admiral Kimmel and General Short are let down gently. While Roberta Wohlstetter's study of the Pearl Harbor crisis is cited several times, her main thesis in no way influences Baker's interpretation of the tragic events of December 7. He writes decently, and the general reader should find the book interesting.

GERALD E. WHEELER
San Jose State College

CHALMERS M. ROBERTS. *The Nuclear Years: The Arms Race and Arms Control, 1945–70.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xi, 159. $6.95.

This brief, handy primer by a newspaperman for the Washington *Post* who "was there" is largely intended as a background guide for the SALT talks. Roberts visited the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortly after their atomic destruction, and he recently traveled to Helsinki for the opening of the SALT meetings. Yet his presence at the places and events he describes seldom intrudes into what is essentially a dull, uncritical, and unquestioning, yet basically balanced, catalogue of the actions and reactions of Russia and the United States to each other's nuclear machinery.

The text is enlivened by occasional Herblock cartoons, which manage to capture both the serious and ridiculous aspects of the spiraling arms race. The appendixes give the texts of the Baruch Plan (1946), the treaty banning atmospheric testing (1963), and the nonproliferation agreement (1968), as well as some maps of aerial inspection proposals. The bibliography is highly selective, excluding the works of Herbert Feis, Gar Alperovitz, Alice Smith, and Richard Barnet, among others.

There is little analysis and little that is new in this book. The question of atomic diplomacy, which Alperovitz and Feis have discussed vigorously, is absent, and hence an important issue in the months leading up to the Baruch Plan is ignored. Roberts is also superficial in his treatment of the Baruch proposal of 1946, seeing it as a generous sacrifice on the part of the United States. Thus Roberts overlooks the divisiveness of the step procedure, which would leave America with atomic monopoly until the last step, and the fact that most of the atomic plants would be in areas unfriendly to Russia. Russia's simple "ban-the-bomb" request was also not conducive to negotiations and control. The intriguing question, to which Roberts gives a bit of attention, is still Henry Stimson's memorandum to the president in September 1945. Stimson called for direct approaches to the Soviet Union, rather than "having this weapon rather ostentatiously on our hip. . . ." But it is clear that there was some delay and that some official sensed a diplomatic advantage in the atomic bomb.

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The story after the Baruch Plan is marked by the themes of "negotiation from strength," missile gaps, "massive retaliation," unsuccessful conferences, interventions of rude events at times when it appeared that negotiations might begin, new spy systems, large space and military budgets, and some minor achievements such as the treaties of 1963 and 1968. The emphasis on the part of both Russia and America is on power and prestige; and so the arms race has been escalated. Thus John F. Kennedy, after the Bay of Pigs debacle, primed the race by building more Polaris and Minutemen missiles, and the missile gap that Kennedy had mistakenly assumed in the 1960 campaign became a gap in favor of the United States. The picture from 1945 to 1970 is not a comforting one, given the mistakes, clumsiness, and pride of Washington's and Moscow's leaders.

Although this study has its faults, it is a useful tool of information for general readers and for scholars who want a short cut to chronology and the statements of leaders (there are no footnotes).

THOMAS G. PATERSON
University of Connecticut

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Volume 11, *The American Republics*. (Department of State Publication 8474.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. xiv, 1382. $6.75.

As many of the pages of this thick, one-volume survey show, the relations of the United States with Latin America throughout 1946 were dominated by the question of Argentina. In the wake of the immediate postwar period, the diplomatic aims of the U. S. in the Western Hemisphere included the restoration of political stability, the realization of the economic program announced at Chapultepec in March 1945 (with its emphasis on the expansion of trade, particularly of U. S. exports, and reliance on private rather than public investment and loans), and the creation of a solid, inter-American military front to combat supposed external threats, increasingly identified as the Soviet Union. The problem, as Ambassador George S. Messersmith recalled in later years, was "to bring the Argentine government into line."

The problem was complicated by the historic hostility of Argentina toward the United States, by the popular elevation of Juan Perón to the presidency of his country in 1946 (the "fairest" election "in Argentine history") in spite of United States opposition and clumsy intervention capped by publication of the famous "Blue Book," and by the importance of Argentina as a wheat supplier to war-ravaged Europe and to the depressed economies of other Latin American countries.

The Argentine crisis was at least partially responsible for the postponement of the Rio Inter-American Conference to late 1947, for the disruptive atmosphere at the International Labor Organization (ILO) conferences held at Mexico City and Montreal, and for some of the difficulties surrounding the Truman administration's military assistance program for Latin America.

All this is clear enough from the careful selection of documents included in the volume. The evidence supports David Green's contention that the intra-administration quarrel over Perón was not so much about fundamental policy as about the means to achieve broad objectives. In that sense, the Argentine controversy can be put into perspective quite nicely by examining the correspondence that relates to the other American republics and suggests the depth of nationalism and social unrest in Latin America that the United States had to confront after World War II.

All in all, and given the increasing quantity of documents that the diplomacy of these years generated, the book is a valuable addition to the series. The enticing ellipses remain frustrating, of course, and one is compelled to ask who initiated the unsuccessful Inter-American Military Cooperation Bill, as it received only reluctant support and then resistance from leading State Department officials. Equally fascinating is the way in which policy makers were able to implement the military assistance program both before and after the defeat of the proposed enabling legislation.

HENRY W. BERGER
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BARTON J. BERNSTEIN, edited with an introduction by. *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. 330. Cloth $10.00, paper $2.95.

LLOYD C. GARDNER. *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941–1949.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xi, 365. $8.95.

These two books provide a lucid and wide-ranging examination of the New (and middle-aged) Left position on the origins and institutionalization of the cold war. Both studies concentrate on American policy and diplomacy during the Truman administration and are characterized by impressive research, a certain dispassion absent in other studies of similar conclusions, and general readability.

Professor Bernstein's introduction and opening essay on the origins of the cold war set the tone for his entire collection. Contrary to the consensus interpretation of Truman's administration, which has given high ratings to policies like the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO, younger scholars have criticized the president and his associates for formulating ill-conceived policies based primarily upon a lack of understanding of Soviet aims and compounded by deep fears of any socialist/communist challenge to the American free-enterprise system. To label that approach as economic determinism is absurd, for each of the contributors (Bernstein on the origins of the cold war and on Truman and civil rights, Thomas Paterson on the Marshall Plan, Lloyd Gardner on the German question, David Green on the cold war and Latin America, and Athan Theoharis on internal security and the loyalty program) deals at great length with the political factors behind policy making. Each, either directly or indirectly, makes a strong case for the inseparability of political and economic freedom (that is, free-enterprise) in the minds of the political leaders. Bernstein typifies the new realism of revision in finding America's refusal to accede to Soviet demands for secure spheres of influence as the major cause of the collapse of wartime cooperation. Though no mention is made of those young historians who tend to agree with many of the assumptions made by Truman, the usual accusation that the radical historians write without proper consideration for the historical context within which major decisions were reached is far less valid here than with some earlier revisionist studies. Each of the authors has clearly tried to deal with that common criticism by demonstrating that, to a great degree, the historical context was created by the actions and public policies of the Truman administration.

If nothing else, this collection demonstrates that the radical school of historians has come of age, for it has lost its own consensus. Bernstein, in his essay on civil rights—which seems oddly misplaced in a book that deals with foreign policy and its relationship to domestic politics—asserts that the Truman rhetoric is not important; rather we must concentrate on concrete action. Theoharis, on the other hand, claims that the Truman rhetoric created an atmosphere that made Joe McCarthy possible if not inevitable—though in both essays the dubious contributions of the Republican opposition are underplayed. Bernstein condemns the administration for its failure to act, yet all the authors bemoan the failure of Congress to play a role in restraining and publicizing the Truman foreign policy. Lloyd Gardner, particularly in his book reviewed below, sees substantial continuity between the Roosevelt and Truman foreign policies; Bernstein flatly accuses Truman of reversing FDR's acceptance of spheres of influence. Thomas Paterson presents a most persuasive argument for the unity of economic and political policy. Using the Marshall Plan as a case study, he finds that world peace and prosperity were not only linked in the American mind, but synonymous with "a healthy and growing American trade." By the third page of the essay everyone talks like Cordell Hull! Given the equating of revolution with communism, the search for both peace and prosperity became a rationale for the containment policy—of which the Marshall Plan was a keystone. The epithet "economic determinist" is probably most valid for David Green's brilliant and provocative essay, "The Cold War Comes to Latin America." The almost pathological fixation of American politicians and businessmen with the threat of nationalization and statism clearly shaped

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policy. Military aid, rationalized by the concept of collective hemisphere security, became a vehicle for supporting military regimes committed to economic orthodoxy. Reform equaled nationalization, which equaled socialism, which equaled communism—hence the fraudulent image of Russians on the Rio Grande and the need for military aid and limitations on Latin American trade with socialist nations. One wonders just how far to the left such policies have pushed the various Latin American reform movements.

Lloyd Gardner's book-length study emphasizes precisely what the title states; that American foreign policy in the 1940s developed largely from a set of illusions either created or held by the men in power. Ten of the eleven chapters revolve around an individual whose attitudes and actions illustrate one or more of these illusions. With the exception of a rather unsatisfying essay on Marshall's mission to China, the emphasis is on Europe; particularly on what Gardner sees as a sort of triumvirate of concern—fear of depression at home, fear of militant Soviet subversion throughout the world, and fear of any limitation on the operation and spread of free-enterprise economics, whether that threat was from communism, socialism, or neo-mercantilism. Once again the label of economic determinist is far too simplistic. One of Gardner's key points is his assertion that Roosevelt had no real faith in either the four-policemen concept or in continued Russo-American cooperation after the war. Even after Stalingrad made further postponement of postwar planning impossible, Roosevelt used second front diplomacy largely for short-term goals, principally to maintain the wartime coalition. Gardner treats containment as a very positive policy that stemmed from a Marxian-like historical assumption that communism in Russia would whither away under certain pressures. Like the contributors to the Bernstein collection, he is highly critical of the traditional goals and assumptions of American "liberalism." The staunch belief that world peace could come only via the extension of both political and economic democracy, the fixation that internationalism (as embodied, for example, in the Atlantic Charter) was not only superior to power politics but practical as well, and the conviction that only American economic power and political leadership could protect such goals against the communist threat did far more to shape the nature of the cold war than Soviet actions and ideology.

Although the events occasionally overshadow the individual, as with Will Clayton and Anglo-American economic relations, the meshing of individual with illusion is generally successful, and in three essays—Baruch and atomic diplomacy, Forrestal and Kennan as co-authors of containment, and a superb study of Dean Acheson as a practitioner of the "Holy Pretense"—the author achieves very real insight and depth of perception.

Gardner sees three correctable errors in American foreign policy during the 1940s; errors that may have been primarily responsible for the manner in which the cold war finally developed. (He carefully distinguishes between causing the cold war and determining the way in which it evolved, and deals primarily with the latter.) Attempts to use economic aid to Russia as a means of altering her East European policy only convinced the Soviets that those policies were absolutely necessary. The failure to work out some sort of mutual security agreement and guarantee against German rearmament further persuaded the Russians that America had no intention of following four-power diplomacy. Finally, the Baruch Plan in the United Nations (if there is a villain in the piece it is Bernard Baruch) ended even the most fragile hope of avoiding an arms race, for it would have guaranteed an American monopoly on atomic weapons without any similar guarantee that the United States would take the final step—internationalization of such weapons.

The book is not a history of the cold war, though the final chapter provides conclusions in the format of a look at cold war historiography. Rather it is an interpretive study of people, their ideas, and how those ideas shaped events. Based on solid research in the printed sources and the small but increasing number of manuscript materials available, Gardner has written a persuasive and balanced account that provides much of the intellectual framework necessary to any understanding of the 1940s and the cold war. One small note of caution. Some of Professor Gard-

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ner's most interesting ideas are found in his preface and note on sources where he sheds some of his scholarly objectivity and lays out his expert opinion in plain view.

For years scholars and politicians have accepted as dogma the concept that the cold war has been a process of Soviet action and American reaction. Even if one does not accept all the arguments presented in these two books, they demonstrate that the United States regularly took the initiative. Hopefully this lays to rest forever the tired cliché that the American foreign policy was to have no policy at all.

WARREN F. KIMBALL
Rutgers University, Newark

PETER H. SMITH. *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change.* (Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. x. 292. $10.00.

"The struggles over the production of cattle and beef" in Argentina were waged during the first half of this century between well-defined socioeconomic actors: the mostly Argentine landowners and the mostly foreign owned and controlled packing houses. The technique of breeding for high quality beef introduced however a third element: the fatteners, landowners whose functions were in both production and trade and who formed an intermediate group between breeders and meat packers. The conflicts between these three groups were sometimes solved by mutual agreements; as the democratization of political life went on, however, the temptation grew of using this new arena to win battles lost or compromised in the less public theater of inter-sectorial struggles. A complex counterpoint of narrow interest conflicts and very general political issues offers then the subject for this excellent book. As Peter Smith soon discovers, the transition from private to public-political conflict was far from complete; even the sectors that had the most advantage were reluctant to use the weapons offered by the new style in national politics. The reasons are not difficult to discover: the most obvious was the comparative inefficacy of political action through Congress (which at its turn throws some light on the limits of the democratizing process); it is then not surprising that governments—even those elected by universal franchise—were more receptive to pressure exerted directly by the protagonists of the beef conflicts using their economic power or social ascendancy than to the protests of larger but less powerful groups.

The landowners (and especially the *criadores*, as opposed to the fatteners) were, however, ready to use any marginal advantage offered them by the possibility of political alliances, as long as the price was low. It is again not surprising that they were more eager to identify themselves with the national interest—against the foreign packers and their stooges, the greedy and unpatriotic fatteners—than to establish a firm understanding with urban consumers, who were chiefly interested in low prices for beef; they were, however, ready to relinquish even this patriotic role as soon as they saw the possibility of a profitable deal with their economic rivals.

As Smith shows, in many cases the process went the other way round; it was from the political field that the support of influential landowning sectors was summoned. This was the case particularly in the thirties during the "great debate" between Lisandre de la Torre and the Justo government. If De la Torre found so little support among those he purported to defend, it was not only because—as he rightly felt—the level of social and political morality was low, but essentially because all the landowning groups fared quite well under the economic policies introduced by Pinedo and Duhau, and no amount of eloquence could convince them that they had nothing to lose but their chains.

On these complex and always shifting alliances established in a twilight area between mass politics and the decisions of administrative and corporative bodies Peter Smith offers us a perceptive and knowledgeable study; and by doing so he throws also unexpected light on many larger issues. In its own quiet way this is an extremely important book on Argentine politics in the twentieth century.

TULIO HALPERIN DONGHI
St. Antony's College, Oxford

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Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Thomas Kelly has shown in his "The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 971–1003) that foundation is lacking for the common assertion of continuous enmity between Argos and Sparta from earliest times. I accept Kelly's conclusions and seek only to suggest that there was in the proto-historical tradition reason for the Greeks to represent these states as *Erbfeinde* when actual history began to be written, as is repeatedly asserted by Pausanias (1.29, 9; 2.20, 1; 3.2, 3, and elsewhere). There is very little solid Greek history before 600 B.C. and almost none before 700 B.C., but the Greeks filled the lacuna with legendary materials that are not entirely fanciful; even those Hellenistic scholars who rejected miracles and local boastings clung to the genealogies of local rulers as affording the best framework they could find for bridging the gap between Troy and the Persians and for their guesses as to events before the Trojan War itself. Historians after Thucydides, though their works are lost, thought they had a sort of evidence extending back a millennium or more before their own day.

Literary remains being so scant before Herodotus, Kelly's negative argument is better supported by geography than by the silence of the texts: it is intrinsically unlikely that non-maritime *poleis* of the Dark Age should have come into conflict until they had expanded over intervening territory. The positive literary evidence, and probability, suggest that Sparta's early extra-Laconian struggles should have been against Arcadia and Messenia. In the same period Argos-Mycenae was concerned with affairs in the Argolid itself. But while we can more or less accurately refer to Sparta, we must understand by Argos, as did the old poets, the Argolid and its cities generally.

The Peloponnese is the best-defined region of continental Greece. In the legend that made all Greeks descend from Hellen, the entire peninsula is the realm of Xuthus, and the poets seem to refer to the whole as *Argos,* at least occasionally (Strabo 7.370; for other references, see A. F. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Realencyclopaedie* 2: 787). But the Peloponnese was especially disturbed by the last Greek irruption, the "Dorian Invasion," and Sparta became the seat of the Dorians *kat' exochen.* Ancient Laconian legends must have been obliterated by the Spartans. Certainly traditions relating to the pre-Dorian era are sparce. Argos, by contrast, claimed an unmatched antiquity. "Quantum distat ab Inacho. . ." says Horace by way of alluding to remotest antiquity. We cannot unravel the threads of Argive legend, but the important fact is that the Argolid was mighty in the Bronze Age—we call the era "Mycenaean"—when Laconia was relatively unimportant. In the classic period the situation was reversed, but the Argives recalled and no doubt magnified their ancient glory against the upstarts. The relation of the Homeric kings of Argos and Sparta as older and younger brother may be significant. Homer's poetry may have arisen in the time of transition, but it is certainly significant that his names for Greeks are in two cases specific for the Argolid—Argives and Danaans; the third refers to the next neighbor and fellow victim of Dorian displacement, Achaeans. It is notorious that Dorians are almost unknown to Homer and not at all as being in the Peloponnese. In spite of the de-

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served fame of the gold cups from Vaphio, Laconia is a region of little importance for Bronze Age archeology, while the Argolid shows Corinth, Tiryns, Larna, Larisa, and other notable names. It is the richest region of the mainland. Perhaps when the sea kings of Crete rounded Malea, they preferred to make all the way to the west coast, for Pylos and even Elis are better attested than is the center of the peninsula in preclassic times.

Though there is an "autochthonous" Argive tradition represented by the Abantid kings, there are also notable overseas connections in the legend, pointing to Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and to Egypt. The Abantides set their eponymous ancestor in the eighteenth generation after Inachus, and to the interim are assigned all the accepted misalliances of Zeus, of which the last begat Herakles, born in Tiryns a generation or two before the Trojan War. (Diodorus Siculus, 4.14, reckons sixteen generations to Herakles, whose great-grandchildren, according to the common tradition, headed the Dorian invasion in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy.) A relic of pre-Dorian Laconian tradition is preserved in the fact that, as Dio asserts (3.65, 5), the majority of heroes descend from Atlas, a Titan older than Zeus. The only Greeks who seem to make this claim are rulers of the western Peloponnesus, Oenomaus of Pisa, the reluctant father-in-law of the Phoenician immigrant Pelops, and the Tyndarid rulers of Sparta. Their *Stammtafel* includes the Pleiad Taygete, Lakedaimon, and Amyclas, which are familiar place names, before showing in Hyacinthus the sort of non-Greek name we associate with the Minoans. These genealogies are little regarded by modern scholars, though N. G. Hammond, conservative in most things, believes them worth mention. (Perhaps the easiest place to check them is still William Smith's century-old *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* [1890]). In the Peloponnesian genealogies, as contrasted with those of the rest of the mainland, the role of Poseidon is conspicuous. The contest of Athena and Poseidon for the site of Athens is familiar.

Both Argive and Spartan legend exhibit much fratricide, but some of it specifically opposes Argos and Sparta. Atlas himself is eventually slain by Perseus, the greatest purely Argive hero. Perseus does take on pan-Hellenic aspects, but compared with Herakles we may regard him as local. He is set in the fifteenth generation from Inachus, his father being Poseidon. Similarly, the fratricide that expelled Tyndareus from Sparta two or four generations before the Trojan War resulted from the marriage of a Spartan king, Oebalus, with an Argive princess, Gorgophone, whose name recalls the great accomplishment of Perseus. But perhaps the most notable trace of ancient hatred between Argos and Sparta is preserved in the variant of the death of Agamemnon given in Pindar's *Eleventh Pythian Ode*, where we find Agamemnon murdered at Amyclae.

The legends of Herakles are so numerous that I shall not pursue them except to point out that the earliest slaughter of Spartans is attributed by Diodorus Siculus (4.33, 5) to Herakles and his followers coming from the Argolis to restore the exiled Tyndareus. This greatest Greek hero has ambiguous roles: his name may mean Glory of Hera, but he was her principal victim, as well as the greatest son of the Argolid, where she was the pre-eminent deity. The Dorians of Sparta, though descendants of Herakles, especially cultivated Apollo. In this as in many things there is contrast between Spartans and Argives, whose pre-eminent deity was Hera. The Argives, we may note, were thought of as being physically inert but clever in words; a sharper contrast with the Laconic discipline could hardly be made.

As was said, this note concurs with Kelly's conclusion that in the early historic period there is not likely to have been much active hostility between Argos and Sparta. There was, however, a tradition used by Greek historians that made the later enmity of Argos and Sparta seem a continuation of a very ancient enmity. This is overt in the career of Pheidon and is invoked unquestioningly by Pausanias, who is perhaps merely reversing the order of events when he makes the Arcadians adopt synoecism, on the model of Argos, in response to Spartan menace (8.27, 1).

KIFFIN ROCKWELL
Northern Illinois University

PROFESSOR KELLY REPLIES:

It was gratifying to learn that Professor Rockwell found my argument that Argos and Sparta

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were not bitterly hostile toward one another throughout the course of Greek history convincing. Although he accepts my main conclusion, he would seriously modify several other points I advanced. He is not convinced by my explanation as to how the false notion of traditional enmity between Argos and Sparta originated. In place of my argument that the misconception grew up in the fourth century B.C., when scholars of that period read their own present into the far distant past and were further misled by their mistaken notion that Pheidon lived much earlier than was actually the case, Professor Rockwell believes that there was a good deal of hostility between Argos and Sparta in the "protohistorical" period. As a result of this hostility, he would "suggest that there was in the protohistorical tradition reason for the Greeks to represent these states as *Erbfeinde* when actual history began to be written. . . ."

Professor Rockwell is certainly correct when he points out that there are numerous allusions to Argive-Spartan enmity in Greek mythology, but I cannot accept his assumption that this myth reflects a "protohistorical tradition," and I cannot agree with his suggestion that this tradition provided Greek historians with reason to portray Argos and Sparta as enemies when, as he puts it, "actual history began to be written." I shall confine myself to a consideration of these two points.

As I attempted to show in my article, one cannot regard late authors such as Strabo, Diodorus, and the ubiquitous Pausanias as reliable guides to earlier Peloponnesian history. Professor Rockwell would seem to agree with me in this, but at the same time he is willing to accept these same authors as reliable guides to Peloponnesian mythology. Yet, if they are not reliable historical guides, can we really assume that they are reliable mythological guides? And can we further assume that the myth they do preserve actually reflects a "protohistorical tradition?" While some Greek myth may indeed preserve and reflect such tradition, as Martin P. Nilsson has attempted to show in his *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), it is equally clear, as the same author has demonstrated conclusively in his *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund, 1951), that much Greek myth was created only in and after the fourth century B.C., and then for obviously political or propagandistic purposes. Do the allusions to Argive-Spartan enmity that Professor Rockwell has called to our attention reflect a "protohistorical tradition"? Or are they really artificial creations of a later period? This is not the place to undertake a comprehensive examination of Greek mythology, but it is perhaps worthwhile to call attention to an interesting study by Antonio Tovar, "Sobre las fuentes de las leyendas aticas de Pausanias" (*Emerita*, 4 [1936]: 276–91). Tovar has examined the Athenian mythology found in Pausanias and concluded that his chief source, as might be expected, was the *Atthides*. Tovar further argues, however, that Pausanias never consulted the texts of the *Atthides* directly, but simply repeated variant versions of the myths that were current in his day. What Tovar's conclusions clearly imply is that the Athenian mythology we get from Pausanias does not reflect any accurate "protohistorical tradition," but is more properly a reflection of the conceptions and misconceptions of his contemporaries. I would suggest that the same is true of the Laconian and Argive mythology that we get not only from Pausanias, but from most writers of late antiquity. Indeed, once the Greeks had accepted the belief that Argos and Sparta had been enemies since earliest times, it would be surprising if this belief, no matter how erroneous, were not reflected in Greek mythology. In sum, Professor Rockwell would have us believe that Argos and Sparta were enemies in the protohistorical period; memory of this enmity was preserved and handed down for a thousand years or more, and ultimately gave rise to the mistaken notion that the two states were enemies throughout the historical period. I am convinced, however, that the mistaken notion of Argive-Spartan enmity came into existence first; this in turn colored later views of Peloponnesian mythology, just as it colored later views of earlier Peloponnesian history.

The second point I should like to make tends, I think, to support my position and at the same time detract seriously from Rockwell's suggestion that the protohistorical tradition gave the Greeks reason to represent the two states as enemies "when actual history began to be written." This suggestion completely overlooks

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one of the major points I stressed in my article. I argued that the earliest Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, while they knew of warfare between Sparta and Argos in the fifth century, did not represent the two states as bitter enemies of long standing. This is not surprising in the case of Thucydides, who rarely mentions events that took place prior to the fifth century. But it is more interesting and significant in the case of Herodotus, for not only must we consider his silence on this matter, but, more importantly, we must also consider Herodotus' clear implication that warfare between Argos and Sparta began only after Sparta had conquered Tegea shortly before the middle of the sixth century B.C. In short, it was my position then and it remains my position now, that when "actual history began to be written," the first historians did not represent Argos and Sparta as traditional enemies; it was only later writers, beginning with Xenophon and especially Ephorus in the fourth century, who so depicted them.

THOMAS KELLY
University of Minnesota

TO THE EDITOR:

In Thomas J. McCormick's review article "American Expansion in China" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1393–96) on Paul A. Varg's *The Making of a Myth: The United States and China, 1897–1912*, I do not understand Mr. McCormick's complaint that Mr. Varg's conclusions are "impressionistic" and that "the impressions are not universally shared" (p. 1394), nor his conclusion that Mr. Varg is a "traditionalist" who should for some odd reason be promulgating a "revisionist" ("materialist") course of interpretation to Mr. McCormick's own satisfaction (p. 1396). Mr. McCormick queries whether abstract terms are "ever helpful devices that sharpen analysis or are they merely normative conveniences . . . that make it possible to impose value judgments?" (p. 1394), while dividing the traditionalist goats from the revisionist sheep in the historical fold of U.S.-China area policy (pp. 1393–96). Curiouser still, Mr. McCormick contradicts his revisionist coming to grips with Varg's traditionalist impressionism by raising a plethora of subjective nuances (do Varg and other traditionalists "adequately appreciate . . . ?" "one senses time and again . . ." "one intuitively wonders whether Varg and other traditionalists fully understand . . ."). Curiouser and curiouser that the very "integrative, systematic thought" projected into the Far East during the Progressive era, in Mr. McCormick's interpretation, is admittedly one of self-perception by "leaders of a political economy" (p. 1395). Traditionalists and revisionists, like Tweedledee and Tweedledum, apparently dwell in the same impressionistic house, notwithstanding Mr. McCormick's abstract expressionism.

AMY S. LEE
Michigan State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Without intending to discount either the very real contributions of Roland Mousnier to an appreciation of Orest Ranum's work, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay* (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1123–24), or the equally real criticisms he has made of it, it is my judgment that several significant points have been either totally neglected or passed over with barely a sentence or a phrase. For example, Mr. Ranum's delightful and extremely pertinent sections on the arts, which surely serve to illustrate the spirit of the several generations of seventeenth-century Parisians better than a detailed analysis of the political or corporative structures of the city could do, are dismissed in only nine words. The use, in chapter 8, of Corneille and Champaigne to make real and comprehensible the generation of the 1630s and 1640s was a masterful idea, masterfully executed. A careful reading will also find an extremely useful, although all too brief, characterization of the generation of 1660 in the works of Racine, Poussin, and Le Vau. Mr. Ranum's description of Vaux-le-Vicomte on pages 254–55 might serve as a miniature of the spirit of France in the age of the baroque—a spirit exemplified by, as Mr. Ranum so happily puts it, "controlled magnificance."

Although the Gallican Church of the era of the Catholic Reformation was in no sense a slavish copy of the Church of the Middle Ages, it certainly had among its goals the revival of its sovereign position in French society—a position seriously challenged in the sixteenth cen-

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tury by the Calvinist heresy. Perhaps, if one wishes to quibble over terminology, "restoration" would be a better term than "revival," for more of the continuity of Catholicism was kept by St. Cyran and Vincent de Paul than by Chateaubriand. But surely such considerations are minor when compared to the understanding Mr. Ranum imparts of the aspirations and the activities of the *devots*.

Certainly, one might wish for a fuller treatment of certain aspects of Paris in the age of absolutism. This is particularly true, as M. Mousnier points out, of the reign of Louis XIV, and a further treatment of this period from Mr. Ranum's pen would be greatly appreciated. But, after all, one ought not ignore the subtitle of the work in question. This is an essay, not an exhaustive study.

For one who is no specialist in the minutiae of Parisian social and political institutions, and for one but marginally literate in French —which is to say, for the vast majority of the readers of a work on seventeenth-century France written in the English language—such considerations as these heavily outweigh the minor shortcomings noted in M. Mousnier's final paragraph, yet they are hardly mentioned in the body of his review. As one limited in the above ways, I feel that these aspects of Mr. Ranum's work should be mentioned as an addendum to M. Mousnier's review.

WILLIAM C. SCHRADER, III
Tennessee Technological University

TO THE EDITOR:

In the June issue of the *AHR* Professor Sheldon Hackney reviewed Hugh C. Bailey's *Liberalism in the New South* and commented, "That a scholar in Birmingham, Alabama, should be writing of reformers sympathetically and of racism critically deserves applause" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1538). This sentence represents another instance in which a scholar does not carry his tradition of accuracy with him as he steps from his scholarly field into the area of contemporary social and political comment. How many Birmingham scholars—or Southern scholars, for that matter—does Professor Hackney know who have done otherwise lately? That is, how many have written of reforms critically and of racism sympathetically?

My suggestion to Professor Hackney is to take greater care in composing comments on this region; furthermore, I do not think it would be amiss for the editors of the *AHR* to exercise some diligence in preventing the perpetuation of misleading stereotypes through the reviews that are run in our Association's journal.

LESLIE CAMPBELL
Auburn University

PROFESSOR HACKNEY REPLIES:

I am sorry about the unfortunate sentence in my review of Hugh Bailey's book in the *American Historical Review*. You will be glad to know that my wife also gave me the devil for it as soon as she saw it. I did not mean for it to sound patronizing, nor to imply that other Southern scholars were benighted. I goofed. In self-defense I will only say that there are several possible implications of the sentence other than the construction Dean Campbell put on it and that he might think about that.

SHELDON HACKNEY
Princeton University

The following exchange of letters has been received in connection with the publication of Arthur Marwick's review of Michael R. Gordon, Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965. AHR, *75 (1970), 1456–57.*

TO THE EDITOR:

I wish to protest Mr. Arthur Marwick's review of my book, *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965*. It is not his decision to knock the book that offends me; it is the intemperate and high-handed quality of his criticisms that does so. To show no sign of comprehension concerning the different aims, methods, and style of political science and of history is bad enough. But to see the work of another scholar as a symptom of some all-pervading cultural malaise comes close to abuse; the scholarly world in prewar Central Europe was only too familiar with the dangers of such thoughtless language. Mr. Marwick's piece does not strike me as worthy of a journal like the *American Historical Review*.

As to Mr. Marwick's attacks on the book's argument, I find it impossible to reply to them

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for the simple reason that they are too vague and wide-swinging. There is nothing of substance to them, nothing to get my teeth into. All they show is that book made him hopping mad.

Your readers may be interested to learn that no other reviewer has responded in like manner. To cite one instance: Kenneth Younger, head of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and a former minister of state for foreign affairs in the 1950 Attlee government, described my book as "an impressive historical survey" and called its general analysis "excellent."

MICHAEL R. GORDON
University of California, Santa Barbara

TO THE EDITOR:

It would be a serious disservice to scholarship to allow Arthur Marwick's vituperative review of Michael Gordon's *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy* to go unanswered. Why this workmanlike and respectable study should have produced such an abusive outburst is puzzling indeed.

Marwick finds the title "pompous," though it describes precisely the theme and subject matter of the book. Despite the fact that neither the Conservative nor Liberal parties has produced systematic and prolonged debate on the fundamentals of foreign policy, Marwick regards any investigation of the reasons for such disagreement within the Labour party as "naive." He expresses dissatisfaction with the author's sources, though he does not indicate what the shocking omissions are. On the basis of a few infelicitous phrases, he describes as "appalling" a style that this reader, at least, found perfectly lucid.

Gordon is a political scientist concerned with conceptualizing and generalizing the day-by-day debates within the Labour party on questions of foreign policy. Some of what he says is implicit in the work of historians; this scarcely means that there is no value in making it explicit. Historians will doubtless wish to examine in their own way some of the new ground he covers. When they do, I am confident that they will find Gordon's study a useful analytical tool and that they will regard with incredulity the irresponsible treatment its author has received in the pages of the *AHR*.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
Catholic University of America

TO THE EDITOR:

After reading Arthur Marwick's review of Michael Gordon's *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965*, I am for the time compelled to raise questions about the intent of a reviewer in a scholarly journal. Was Professor Marwick's purpose to inform the readers of the *AHR* about the contents of the book in question and to evaluate both the methodology and the results accomplished, or was he inclined to vent his venom on an author who was somehow unlucky enough to have his book fall into Professor Marwick's hands? We have all learned in graduate school and in our professional capacities to keep our generous impulses tightly in rein when evaluating the scholarly efforts of others. Still, to label in print a respectable effort a "non-book" and to say that it confirms "all the worst misgivings that historians have ever had about the activities of political scientists" is to be not just lacking in generosity. It is an affront to Professor Gordon and to his professional colleagues in political science.

Professor Marwick is right in pointing to the universal acclaim that has surrounded Samuel H. Beer's *British Politics in the Collectivist Age*. I would also agree with his reservations about some of the sentences in the Gordon book, although I would ask how many books one reads in which only perfect sentences are found. But apart from this, Professor Marwick's review is empty. If I had a nasty disposition, I might call it a non-review.

As for the "not very expertly chosen selection of secondary sources," Professor Marwick is apparently referring to footnote references to such third-rate writers on British Labour as Henderson, Attlee, MacDonald, Dalton, Snowden, Cripps, Citrine, Bevan, Greenwood, Lansbury, Lord Parmoor, and Noel-Baker (not to mention Tawney, Laski, and Cole).

If the reviewer was irked, as he seems to indicate, by Professor Gordon's attempt to analyze the impact of ideological commitment on the formulation of Labour's foreign policy,

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he should have warned all of us in the plainest possible language that some questions are taboo and that scholars who attempt to investigate them are subject to harassment from those who, like Marwick himself, set themselves up as arbiters between what is to be explored and what is not. Such pretentiousness is not only symptomatic of insufferable arrogance, it is close to that strange mentality of violence that attempts to single out for execution those individuals who venture into forbidden territory (even though academic territory) rather than to deal dispassionately with the results of their labors. Marwick's contention that most political scientists are fit candidates for the firing squad (again only in the academic sense) I shall pass over. But I do regret seeing evidence of this mentality in the pages of the *American Historical Review*.

WILLIAM R. TUCKER
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PROFESSOR MARWICK REPLIES:

This correspondence raises a number of points, some of them of principle. I do not claim to have answers to all of them.

Since Mr. Gordon sees me as a Nazi and Professor Tucker sees me as some kind of terrorist, I should like for the record to clarify one point: as soon as I realized that I would not be able to treat Mr. Gordon's book sympathetically, I informed the editor of the *American Historical Review* that I thought it better that I should not review his book at all. It was only on the insistence of the editor that my review was in the end submitted.

I welcome the fact that Mr. Gordon has taken the opportunity open to him to reply to my review. He might care to reflect that his book has now had a good deal more publicity than it would have done had I simply written a neutral and noncommittal review. Kenneth Younger and Professor Cline both think highly of Mr. Gordon's book. It is certainly desirable that *AHR* readers should have the opportunity to consider the opinions of these two distinguished authorities. In my review, however, I could only give my opinion.

I take it that a review in this journal should be basically directed toward the needs of historians. I have no wish to abuse Mr. Gordon further, but again I have to say that I cannot feel that his book really adds anything of significance to the historical study of the British Labour party. Frankly this seems to me a pretty overworked field anyway. I seem to have spent an awful lot of my life reading and rereading the same old rehash of passages from Henderson, Snowden, Cole, etc. Is it not a basic task of scholars to open up new fields of research?

Both Professor Tucker and Professor Cline seem to feel that my hostility is to political science as such. My point, in fact, was a rather different one. It seemed to me that since Mr. Gordon's political science approach had not yielded anything of value to historians, he was therefore reinforcing the (mistaken) opinion held by some historians that political science can never be of use to them.

Both Professor Tucker and Professor Cline describe Mr. Gordon's book as "respectable." I am not quite sure what meaning they attach to this term, though in Britain it is frequently used as a euphemism for "deadly dull." And that really was the basis of my criticism of Mr. Gordon's book. No doubt it was unfair that the brunt of this attack should fall upon him, but I cannot help feeling that someone, sometime, is going to have to do something positive to stem the flood of tedious, though no doubt worthy, or "respectable," books whose contribution to knowledge is minimal, but that nonetheless come pouring forth from the university presses.

Professor Tucker raises the question of whether the tone of my review was suitable to the *American Historical Review*. That is a question that only American historians can decide. It does seem to me, speaking very much as an outsider, that American scholars have often gone rather far in the opposite direction, that is, of polite back-scratching.

ARTHUR MARWICK
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Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between August 1 and October 1, 1970. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

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ARMAND, LOUIS, and DRANCOURT, MICHEL. *The European Challenge*. Tr. from the French by PATRICK EVANS. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xii, 256. $5.95.

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BAUMER, FRANKLIN LE VAN (ed. with interpretative essays and notes). *Main Currents of Western Thought: Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present*. 3d rev. ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xx, 784.

BENDIX, REINHARD. *Embattled Reason: Essays on Social Knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 395. $9.75.

CARLETON, WILLIAM G. *Technology and Humanism: Some Exploratory Essays for Our Time*. With a foreword by MANNING J. DAUER. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 300. $12.50.

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DAVIES, PETER (ed.). *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Paperback ed. New York: Dell. 1970. Pp. xii, 820. 75 cents.

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EASTON, STEWART C. *The Western Heritage: From the Earliest Times to the Present*. 3d ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xiv, 1090.

FEZENSAC, M. DE. *The Russian Campaign, 1812*. Tr. by LEE KENNETT. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 147. $6.00.

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GENTLES, FREDERICK, and STEINFIELD, MELVIN. *Hangups from Way Back: Historical Myths and Canons*. Vol. 1. San Francisco: Canfield Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 326. $4.50.

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JANOWITZ, MORRIS. *Political Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xii, 271. $8.95.

KELLY, GEORGE A., and BROWN, CLIFFORD W., JR. (eds.). *Struggles in the State: Sources and Patterns of World Revolution*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1970. Pp. xi, 511. $9.95.

KENNEDY, DAVID M., and ROBINSON, PAUL A. (eds.). *Social Thought in America and Europe: Readings in Comparative Intellectual History*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1970. Pp. xxi, 420. $5.95.

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SELSAM, HOWARD, *et al.* (Selected and ed. with introd. and notes). *Dynamics of Social Change: A Reader in Marxist Social Science from the Writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin*. New York: International Publishers. 1970. Pp. 416. Cloth $10.00, paper $3.95.

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MCNEAL, ROBERT H. (ed.). *Russia in Transition, 1905–1914: Evolution or Revolution?* European Problem Studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. 115.

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ROBIEN, LOUIS DE. *The Diary of a Diplomat in Russia, 1917–1918.* Tr. from the French by CAMILLA SYKES. New York: Praeger. 1970. Pp. 318. $8.50. See rev. of French ed. (1967), *AHR*, 73 (1967–68): 547.

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HANCE, WILLIAM A. *Population, Migration, and Urbanization in Africa.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 450. $15.00.

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The new president of the American Historical Association is Professor David M. Potter of Stanford University. The vice-president is Professor Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University.

The annual meeting of the Association will be held on December 28–30, 1971, at the New York Hilton, New York City.

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Dan M. Robison, professor of history at Vanderbilt University from 1936 to 1950, died September 8, 1970, in Nashville, Tennessee. From 1950 to 1961 Dr. Robison was librarian and archivist of Tennessee. He was chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, 1949–61, and editor of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 1943–56. He was appointed state historian in 1970.

Other members of the Association who have died recently are: M. D. Lewis, of the Sir George Williams University, Montreal; and T. P. McNeill, of St. Louis, Missouri.

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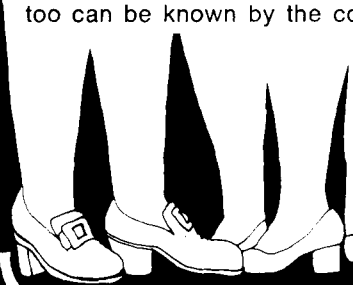
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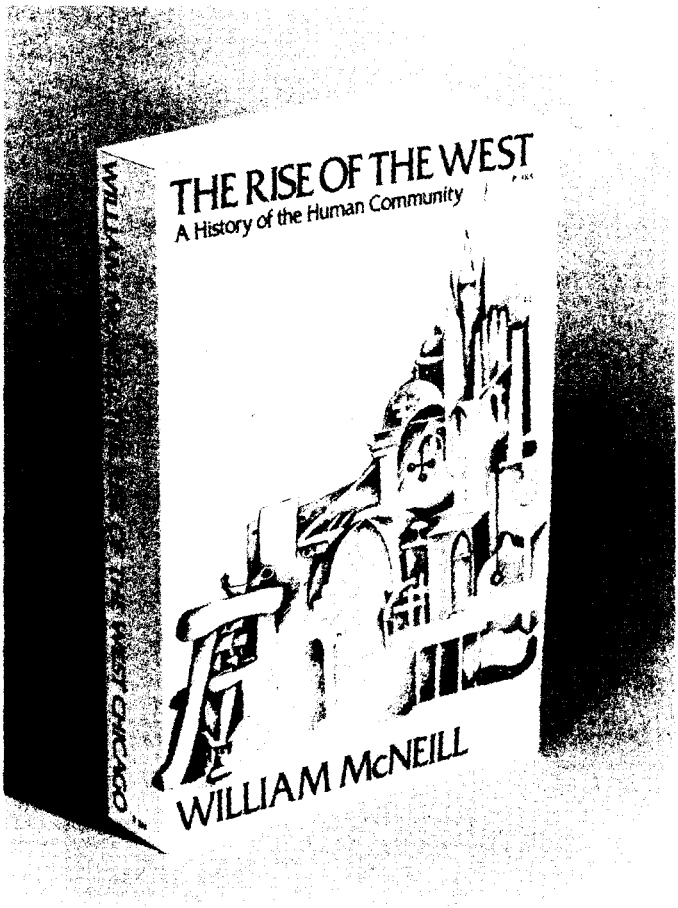


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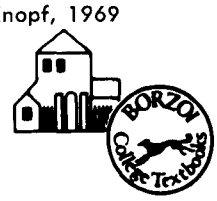
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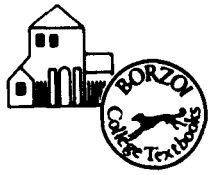
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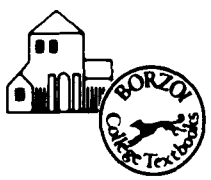
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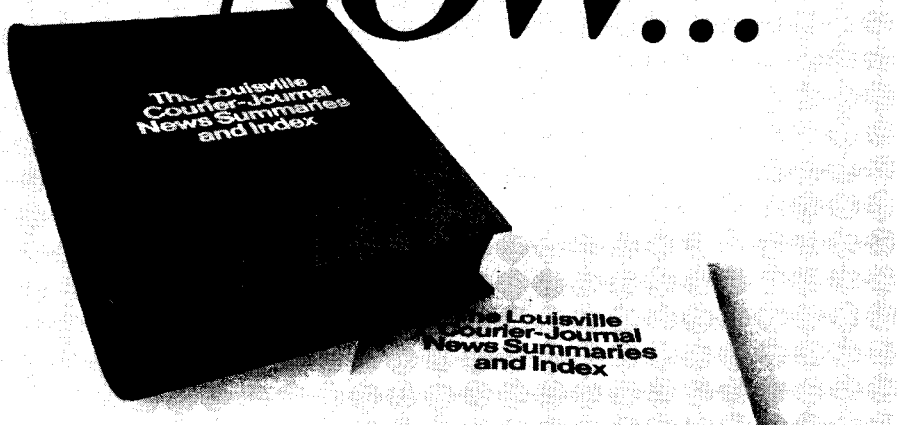
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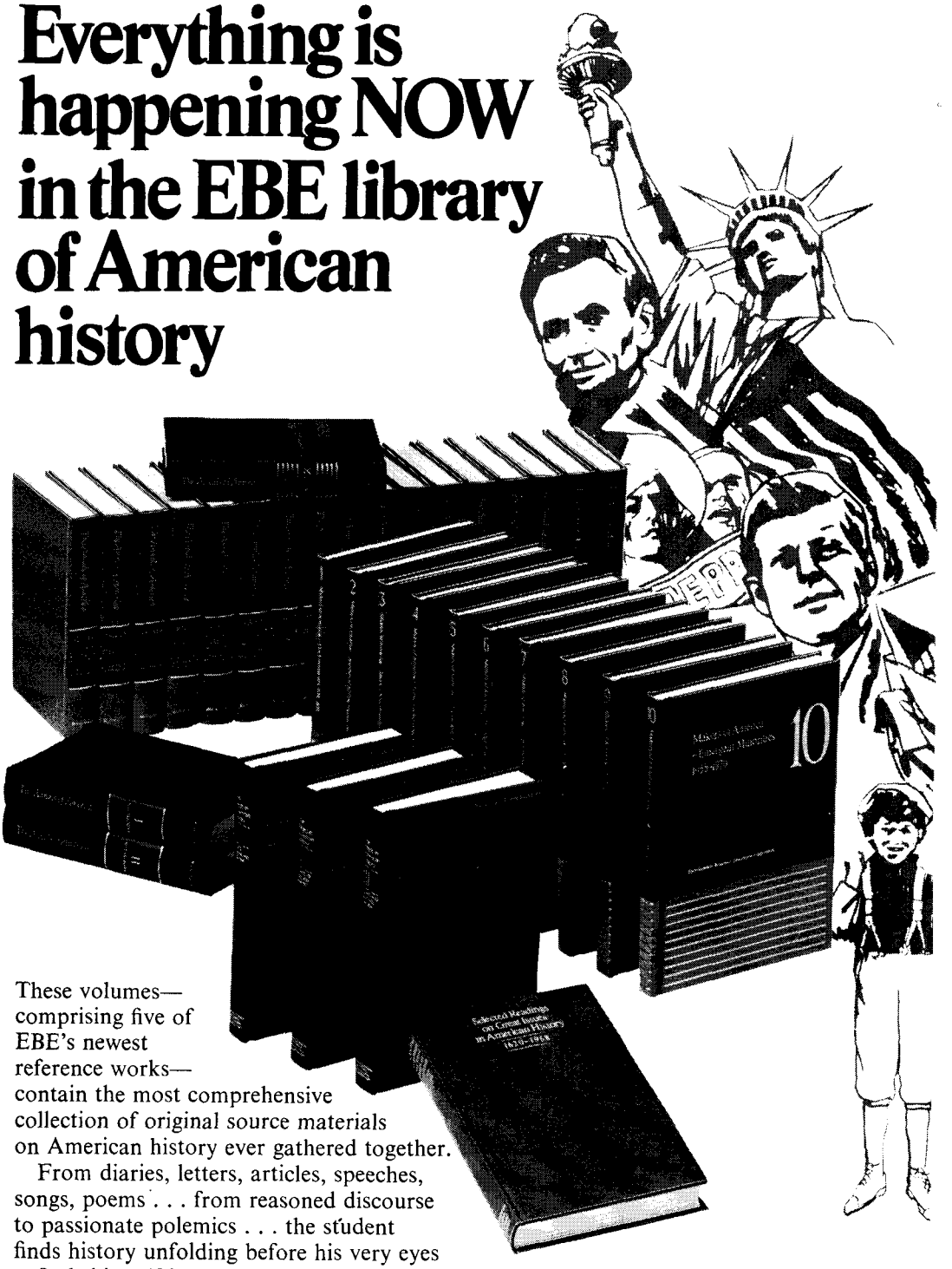


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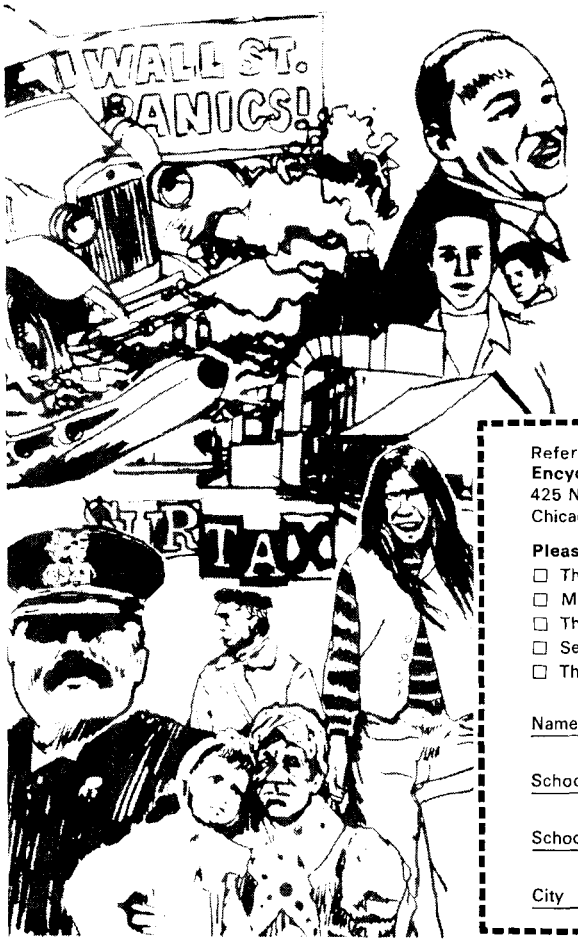
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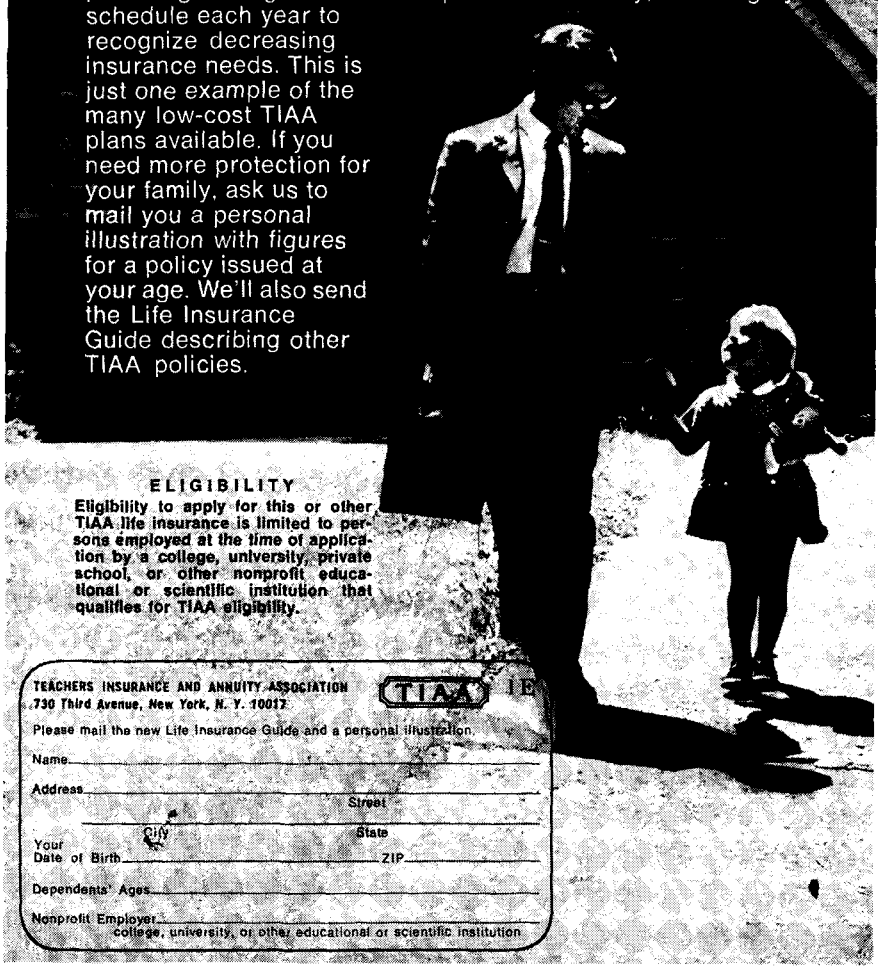
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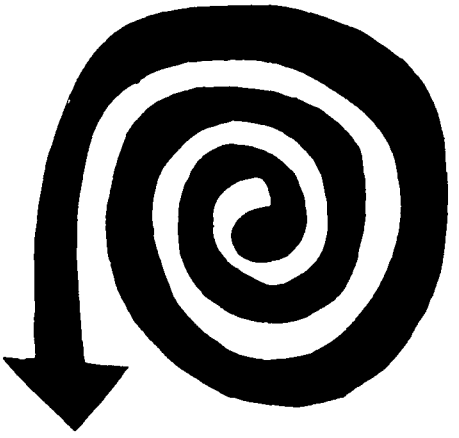
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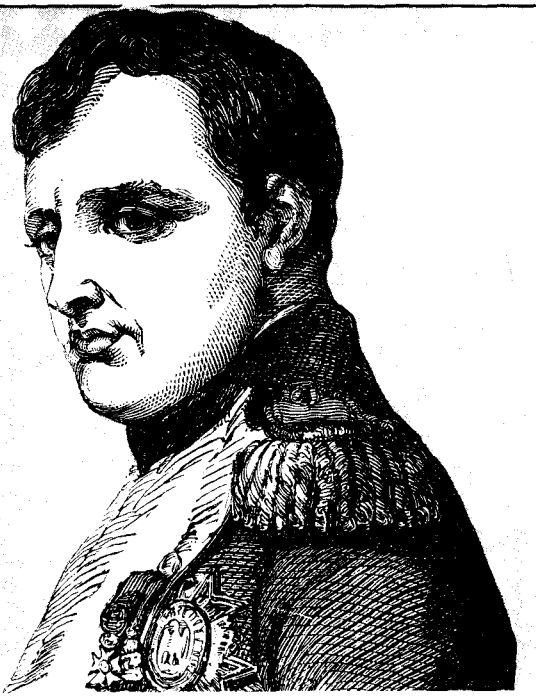
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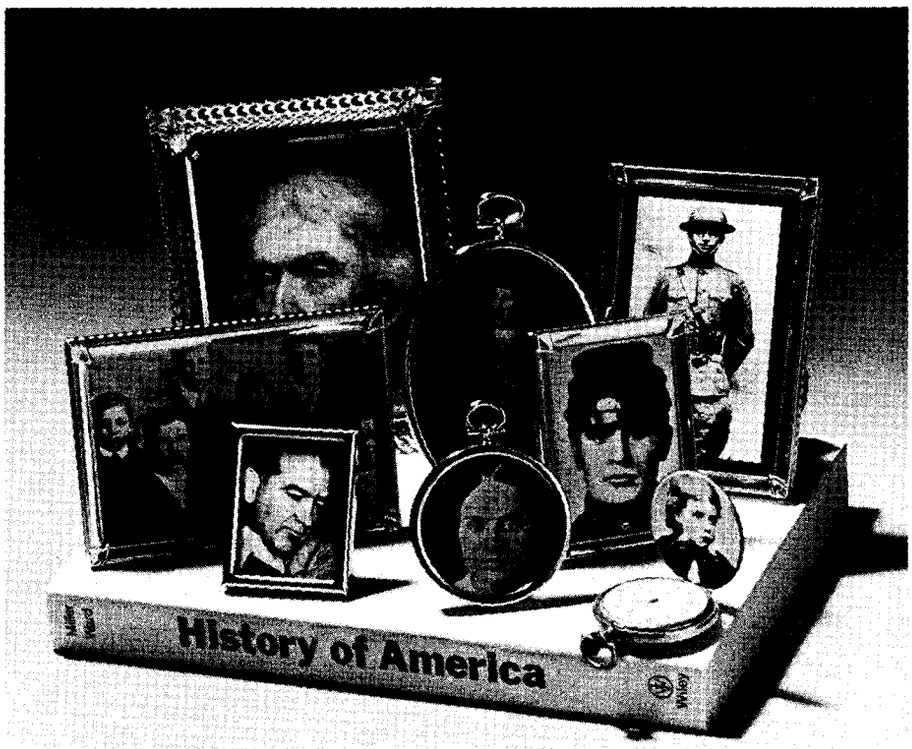
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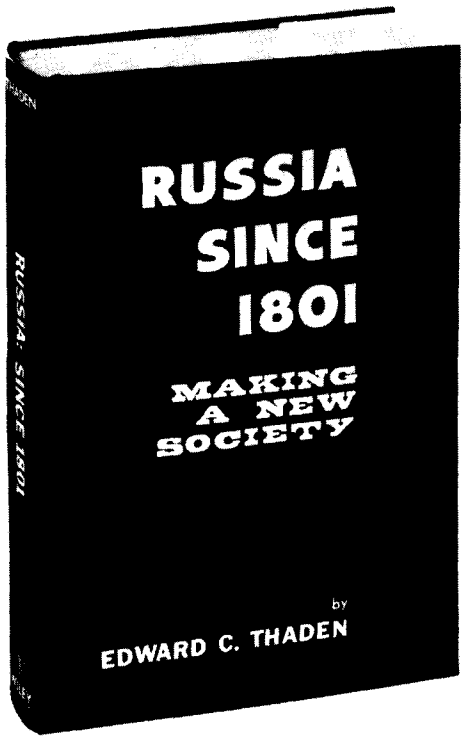
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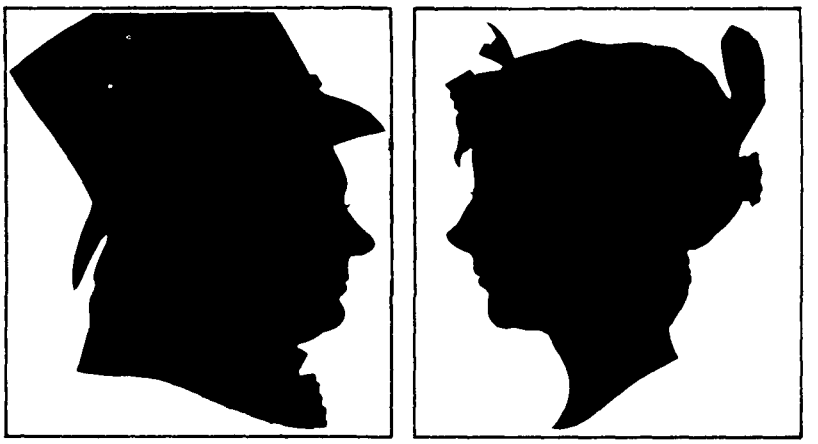
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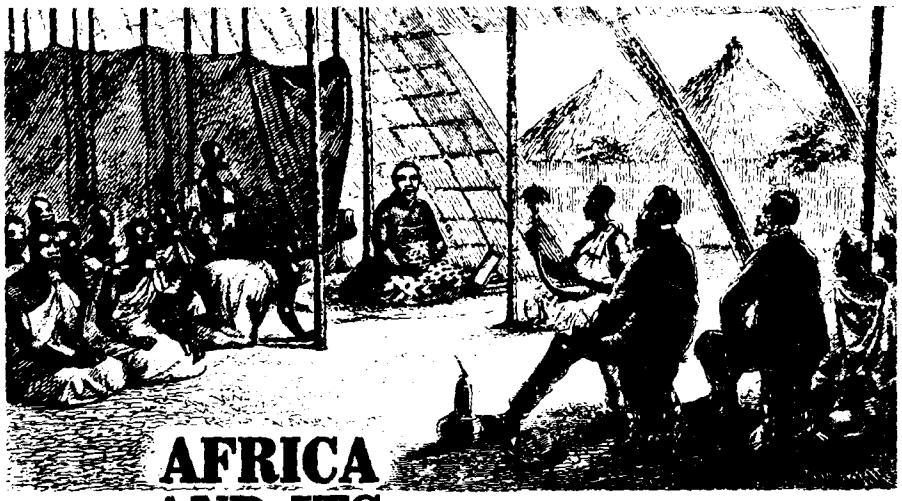
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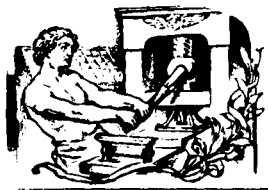
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